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NEW INDICATIONS OF AUGUSTAN EDITING IN THE CAPITOLINE *FASTI*

LILY ROSS TAYLOR

IN A RECENT article on Professor Degrassi's great edition of the consular and triumphal *Fasti* (*CP*, XLV [1950], 84-95) I argued that the Capitoline *Fasti* were inscribed not, as Degrassi believes, on the arch voted to Octavian in 31-30 B.C. but on the arch erected in 18-17 after the return of the Parthian standards. Evidence from the text of the *Fasti* which accords with this date had already been presented in an earlier paper which I wrote before the *Fasti* were proved to have been on the arch and published in this journal in 1946 (XLI, 1-11). The present discussion will include some modification of views expressed in that paper and will add what seems to me important new evidence in support of the date I have proposed for the arch and the inscriptions.

My reasons for arguing in 1946 that the *Fasti Capitolini* (*FC*) were edited after Augustus consolidated his power were as follows: the detailed names and the genealogies of early republican magistrates in the *FC* should be attributed to a period when Augustus was "restoring" the republic and was reviving ancient patrician families; Livy's failure, when he gives variant traditions in the first decade, to show any knowledge of the names accepted in the *FC* indicates a date for the

inscriptions after Livy had completed his early books, that is, after the mid-twenties; the spelling of the *cognomen* given to the early Julii, Iulus, instead of Iullus, the original reading of Livy, suggests a time after Vergil's trisyllabic spelling of the name in the *Aeneid* was known; the insertion of the dictator years and the constitutionally impossible explanation of these years in the *Fasti* can best be accounted for in a period when memory of republican institutions was no longer fresh.

The last three reasons still seem to me valid, but Degrassi has convinced me that lists which were as detailed in *cognomina* and genealogies as the *FC* were available before Augustus reorganized the constitution. Atticus' *Liber annalis*, published by 46 B.C., the work that Degrassi thinks was the basis for the *FC*, specialized in genealogies and family history.¹ Moreover fragments of an official consular list which Degrassi has convincingly dated before 27 B.C. show names that rival the *FC* in *cognomina* and genealogical details.² That list, the *Fasti feriarum Latinarum* (*FFL*), comes from the shrine of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount, scene of a state ceremony conducted every year by the consuls in office.

But differences between the *FC* and

the *FFL* provide new indications that the *FC* represent a later edition. In three of the nine republican years for which the *FFL* are preserved (449, 216–212, 202–200) the two consuls are listed in a different order from the *FC*. The importance of the order in which the two names appear has not been generally recognized. The consul placed first was the *prior consul*, the man who, as Professor T. R. S. Broughton and I have shown, was elected first and had priority in the monthly alternation of the *fascēs*.³ It is striking that, while the *FFL* in each case give priority to a plebeian, the *FC* place first a member of a great patrician house which was still prominent under Augustus—L. Aemilius Paullus in 216, Appius Claudius Pulcher in 212, and Ti. Claudius Nero in 202.⁴

On the principle of the *lectio difficilior* one would be tempted to accept the order in the *FFL*, and there is confirmation of its correctness. In each of these years Livy agrees with the *FFL* against the *FC*, and under 216 he describes the prior election of the consul he places first, the new man C. Terentius Varro.⁵ Before we undertook our joint study Professor Broughton had, in his study of Roman republican magistrates, made an examination of Livy's evidence on the order of names in other years and had concluded that Livy was a better source than the *FC* for the order.

In the consular years for which his history is preserved (509–292, 218–166) Livy diverges from the *FC* on the order of names in about thirty per cent of the consulships.⁶ In 189 as in 216 Livy is explicit on the prior election of the man he places first, M. Fulvius Nobilior, to whom Cn. Manlius Vulso is preferred by the *FC*.⁷ There are, moreover, many other instances like the three cited from the time of the Second Punic War in which the *FC*, diverging from Livy, give first place to a

man from a great patrician house which was still eminent under Augustus. The man put in second place frequently belongs to a house that has disappeared or is no longer important. Thus Aemilii, one of whom is preferred to a Terentius in 216, are also put ahead of a Genucius, a Iunius, and a Baebius (363, 317, 182), a Claudius (member of the family preferred to a Fulvius in 212 and a Servilius in 202) is put ahead of a Volumnius (296), a Cornelius Lentulus is preferred to a Genucius (303), a Fabius to a Poetelius (360), a Valerius to a Nautius (475). The men placed first all belong to great families which were in public life in the late republic as well as in the Augustan Age, and a change in the order might have been made at either time. But an indication of Augustan rather than republican date is to be found in reversals of order where the man named first in the *FC* belongs to a family which Augustus attempted to revive. Thus a Quintilius is placed ahead of a Curiatius (453) and a Quinctius, the great Flamininus, before an Aelius (198).⁸ In the latter case Livy's report of opposition to Flamininus' candidacy makes it probable that his colleague Aelius was elected first. The importance of Cn. Domitius Calvinus under Augustus may explain why the first member of his plebeian house to reach the consulship (332) is preferred in the *FC* to a Cornelius Arvina.

The treatment of Augustus' house is of some interest. Three times the *FC*, in opposition to Livy, prefer to a prominent nobleman an ancestor of Augustus or of Tiberius or Livia. A Iulius Iulus is put ahead of a Fabius in 482,⁹ a Claudius Nero, who has already been mentioned, ahead of a Servilius Geminus in 202, and a Livius ahead of a Valerius Messalla in 188. Very different is the situation with the Claudii Marcelli, family of Augustus'

nephew, who until his death in 23 was considered the emperor's heir. They appear in second place five times where they come first in Livy.¹⁰ That order could hardly be attributed to Atticus, who was intimate with the Marcelli and wrote a history of the family, nor does it seem likely that it could have been adopted before the death of the young Marcellus in 23.

Another peculiarity of the *FC* is a tendency to place second a man who had repeated consulships. Two men who held six consulships, T. Quinctius Capitolinus and M. Valerius Corvus, are each put in second place in two years when Livy puts them first, and other men with two to five consulships are also displaced.¹¹ It would seem that there was an effort to make less conspicuous men who, because of repeated consulships, might have been thought of as forerunners of Augustus.

There is frequent interchange of two famous names and there is some difference in the treatment of various eminent families. The Aemilii in general come off well. In spite of enmity between Augustus and M. Aemilius Lepidus, the *pontifex maximus*, the Aemilii were prominent under Augustus, and members of the house married into the imperial family. Among the Cornelii, the Lentuli are usually in first place in the *Fasti*,¹² but other branches of the family are in various instances transferred to second place. The Manlii also receive favorable treatment,¹³ and among plebeian families the Plautii have first place in every case except one.¹⁴ On the other hand, the plebeian Fulvii appear four times, in opposition to Livy's order, in the second place.¹⁵ Perhaps this change can be explained by the fact that this is the house of Antony's wife, who was held responsible for the Perusine War. I shall suggest later a possible explanation for the other variations.¹⁶

A comparison of the order of names with Diodorus' universal history, published about 30 B.C., and with Dionysius' *Roman Antiquities*, which appeared in 7 B.C., is of some interest. Diodorus shows variation both with the *FC* and with Livy, agreeing now with one and now with the other, and sometimes differing when the two agree. He or his source seems to have been careless about the order of names.¹⁷ Dionysius, on the other hand, shows much closer correspondence with the *FC* than Livy does, agreeing with the *FC* against Livy fourteen times and with Livy against the *FC* only once.¹⁸ As I pointed out in 1946, Dionysius agrees often with the *FC* in the *cognomina* of early republican magistrates, including the obviously spurious Augurinus under 491. It is also noteworthy that in one year, 473, where Livy gives a variant for the name of a magistrate, Dionysius agrees with the *FC* in the name accepted, and that the man in question is a Julius. It seems clear that Dionysius made use of the version prepared for the arch.¹⁹

It is, in my opinion, equally sure that Livy did not use that version, and that, as I argued in my first paper, his first decade antedates the Capitoline *Fasti*. The order of the names does not prove my point, for the variations between Livy and the *FC* continue in about the same proportion in the fourth and fifth decades, which must have been written after the Parthian arch was completed.²⁰ Evidently Livy went on following his annalistic sources on the order of names. But Livy's failure to cite the names accepted in the *FC* when he gives variants in the first decade²¹ and his omission of the dictator years seem to me conclusive proof that these early books written in the twenties antedate the inscriptions on the arch.

The *Fasti feriarum Latinarum* and Livy, in my view, preserve the republican

tradition on the order of the consuls, and the Capitoline *Fasti*, which Dionysius used as one of his sources, represent a revised version of the consular list. Why was the revision made? It happens that in the year when the Parthian arch was in process of construction Augustus set up a new criterion for priority between the two consuls. His *lex de maritandis ordinibus* of 18 B.C. provided that priority should be accorded to the consul who had the larger number of children. Gellius, in his account of the new law, says that in olden times the relative age and dignity of the two men had determined priority,²² a misstatement, for, as we have shown, priority of election was the deciding factor.

I believe that, under the influence of this discussion of priority between the two consuls, the men who prepared the consular list for the arch revised republican records, and planned the arrangement of the list. The *FC*, which differ from the early *FFL* in putting the two consuls in the same line instead of in successive lines, emphasized the *consules priores* by placing them in the successive lines of the left-hand column. The criterion for the new order of names was certainly not priority of election, for the tradition on that subject was violated; nor was it age and dignity, for in that case men with repeated consulships would not have been transferred to second place in their later consulships. The number of children was not always a decisive factor,²³ but patrician families whose heirs continued to hold high office were in general given preference over houses which had died out or had disappeared from public life. There was a tendency, not carried to extremes, to give the honored position to ancestors of Augustus, Tiberius, and Livia.

The curious interchanges between names of eminent families perhaps mean

that, with the restoration of ancient families, there was a revival of old-time rivalry among the families, and that the men in charge of the preparation of the list seized the opportunity to enhance the glory of their own families. The college of *pontifices* controlled the *Fasti*, and I suggest that their families may have been accorded favored position. We know only a few names of the members, but the ones we know would explain preferential treatment for Iulii, Claudii, Fabii, Corneli, Lentuli, and Domitii Calvini.²⁴ From the favorable position accorded to the Manlii I am tempted to suggest that Horace's friend Torquatus, the only member of the house mentioned in the Augustan Age, was in the college.²⁵ It is to be noted that the only Claudius Marcellus known at the time, the consul of 22 B.C., was a *quindecimvir sacris faciendis* and not a *pontifex*. It may not be too fanciful to suggest that there were men among the *pontifices* who were willing to see the prestige of the Marcelli diminished.

While in my view the *pontifices* took account of the Augustan nobility and also perhaps of their own families in arranging the consuls under each year,²⁶ they did not touch the family names of the magistrates, except to make definite decisions on the consuls to be recorded in years when there were variant traditions. But the *praenomina*, *cognomina*, and genealogies given to each magistrate may well have been subjected to editing in line with the accepted *stemmata* of the great houses that Augustus was at the time trying to maintain or to revive. An example of a change in *cognomen* is the Vergilian form Iulus which, apparently at this time, replaced the old form Iullus as the *cognomen* of the early Julii. In genealogies there were probably variations from Atticus' careful work on family history, as we know there were from the version

adopted in the *FFL*. I think it not unlikely that that version was based on Atticus.

The chronology of the Capitoline *Fasti*, indicated by numbers in the margin every ten years, is usually attributed to Atticus, a view with which Degraffi agrees.²⁷ But the date of the founding of Rome accepted by Atticus was 753,²⁸ while in the *FC* it is 752. Then there are the four dictator years inserted in the *Fasti*, 333, 324, 309, 301. The attribution of these years to Atticus seems to me doubtful,²⁹ for Cicero, who was careful after the *Liber annalis* was published to adopt Atticus' chronology, failed in a subsequent work dedicated to Atticus to take accounts of the dictator years.³⁰ I cannot attribute to Atticus the inept and unconstitutional explanation in the *FC* under those years: *hoc anno dictator et magister eq. sine cos. fuerunt*.

Where did the *pontifices* get the chronology? I still think that the suggestion I made in 1946 is possible—that is, that the *pontifices* adopted the chronology established by the Board of Fifteen Men who were charged by Augustus with the task of fixing the time for celebrating the secular games, and that these priests, who, we know, invented records of four earlier celebrations, also falsified chronology.³¹

That brings me to the relation between the notations on the secular games and the date of the arch. Following Mommsen and others, I argued in 1946 that, since the notices were inscribed not in the text of the *Fasti* but on the margin beside the appropriate years, the *Fasti* must have been inscribed before Augustus' celebration of the games on May 31 to June 3 of 17. As a result of questions from Mrs. Joyce Gordon, I now doubt that *terminus ante quem*. If the *pontifices* took the chronology of the *quindecimviri*, they would have had the dates of the invented

republican celebrations and could have entered them in the text. The calculations had certainly been completed some time before the celebration.³² The notices of the *ludi saeculares* may have been placed in the margin deliberately to bring them into greater prominence. The form of the notices with the names of *magistri* in the ablative has no parallel in the list of magistrates. I therefore date the inscription of the arch at some time within Augustus' sixth tribunitian power, June 26, 18 to June 25, 17, and assume that the omission of the secular games in the text was intentional.

The space in the fourth tablet was not completely filled by this year, and the names of consuls were added later through the year 12 B.C., and according to Degraffi's calculations at least for one year more. Whether the triumphal list was placed on the pilasters at the time when the *Fasti* were inscribed we cannot be sure. In Professor Holland's view the inscription of the pilasters looks like an afterthought,³³ and it may have been carried out somewhat later. It is to be noted that the triumphal list has fewer archaisms than the consular list. The spelling Publilius instead of Poblilius and the tendency to use *ae* instead of *ai* show a slight degree of modernization, which may indicate a difference in date of a few years.³⁴ But the triumphal list was certainly inscribed before 11 B.C., for it does not include the *ovatio* of Drusus in that year. The list was in place and the names of the Antonii in it were clearly visible when, according to my interpretation, unauthorized agents in 2 B.C., after the disgrace and death of Antony's son Iullus, removed the names of the Antonii in the consular records and did not touch the triumphal list.

The new indications of Augustan editing which I have found in the Capitoline *Fasti* are alterations in the order of the

consuls' names. The genuine republican tradition on that order is to be found in the *Fasti feriarum Latinarum* and in Livy. The most probable time for the alterations, which brought into prior position ancestors of Augustus, Livia, and Tiberius and of many ancient families, especially among the patricians, is after the death of the young Marcellus in 23. The same general period is suggested by the *cognomen* of the early Iulii, Iulus, a form that seems to have been adopted from the *Aeneid*. These indications of date in the text of the *Fasti* accord with my view that it was on the Parthian arch, completed in 18-17, that the *Fasti* were inscribed. There is the further important fact that in the year 18 Augustus issued new regulations for priority between the two con-

suls in office. I have argued that under the influence of those regulations the *pontifices* revised the old records, and perhaps tried to bring their own families into preferred position. The Capitoline *Fasti* are a revised version of republican annals. The revision is kept within limits, avoiding the invention of family names of magistrates; it involves less falsification of history than is to be found in the contemporary records of the Board of Fifteen Men. But there is enough alteration to make one wary about accepting the detailed nomenclature of the *Fasti* in preference to the brief names that Livy found in good republican sources and reproduced without revision in the interests of any individual or group.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

NOTES

1. See Nepos' comment (*Att.* 18) on the *Liber annalis*: "Sic familiarum originem subtexuit ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines possimus cognoscere. Fecit hoc idem separatim in aliis libris, ut M. Bruti rogatu Iuniam familiam a stirpe ad hanc aetatem ordine enumeraverit, notans quis a quo ortus quos honores quibusque temporibus cepisset; pari modo Marcelli Claudii de Marcellorum, Scipionis Corneli et Fabi Maximi Fabiorum et Aemiliorum." See Degraffi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, XIII, 1, pp. xiv f.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 143 ff. Degraffi is undoubtedly right in holding that the change of form between the scant republican fragments and the fragment recording the year 27 means that the earlier portions had been inscribed before 27. The use of marble for the monument indicates that it is not earlier than Caesar. On differences between the *FC* and the *FFL* see Degraffi's comments under 449 B.C.

3. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XIX (1949), 1-14.

4. Full references to ancient sources for the consuls of each year will be found in Degraffi's convenient list of chief magistrates, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-533.

5. For 449 the *FC* and the *FFL* agree on the order of names, and Livy has the same order in his consular dating in 10. 37, but has the reverse order under the year (3. 55). For this year as for many others discussed in this paper we have to depend on the Chronographer of A.D. 354 for the order of the *FC*. Where the *FC* are preserved, the Chronographer always reproduces the order of the names in the inscriptions, but the *Fasti Hydatiani* and the *Chronicon Paschale* sometimes differ.

6. See p. 10, n. 4 of the article referred to in note 3 above. As we stated there, our figures do not include years when the records are uncertain or the years of

the *decemviri* and the *tribuni militum consulari potestate*. Variations in the latter lists are so numerous that we are led to conclude that the order was not important.

7. Priority of election, when mentioned by Livy, always coincides with priority in his lists. It is noteworthy that in 320 he places first Q. Publius Philo, whom he represents as holding the *fascies* immediately on entering office. The *FC* reverse Livy's order here, placing L. Papirius Cursor first.

8. P. Quintilius Varus was consul in 13 B.C.; T. Quinctius Crispinus Sulpicianus held the office in 9 B.C. On the revival of these families see Ronald Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939), p. 377.

9. Iulii Iuli do not always come first in their six consulships, 489, 482, 473, 447, 435, and 430. They are second in all records for 447 and 430; the Iulius of 435 is first in all records, and the Iulii of 489 and 482 are first in the *FC* and Dionysius. Livy omits the consuls of the former year and, as I noted above, has the reverse order under 482. It is of interest that in 473, where Livy prefers a tradition that made Obiter Verginius the second consul, the *FC* and Dionysius accept Iulius and place him second. On the other hand, the *FC* do not accept Licinius Macer's record of a Iulius as consul in 434. See also note 20 below.

10. In 331, 210, 183, and 166. To these years I add 222, the first consulship of the great Marcellus, who is placed first by Livy's derivatives, Cassiodorus and Eutropius. (Their joint authority seems good testimony for Livy's order, whereas the evidence of Cassiodorus alone, who differs from Livy's order eight times in the years when Livy's work is preserved, is more doubtful.) In 49, a year when the records are conflicting, perhaps because the two consuls were elected with the same number of votes (see article cited in

note 3 above), a Marcellus is preferred in the *FC* to a Cornelius Lentulus.

11. Quinctius is moved to second place in 446 and 439, and Valerius Corvus in 348 and 335; Q. Fabius Maximus, the Cunctator, consul five times, is placed second in 228 where Cassiodorus puts him first; another man who was consul five times, C. Sulpicius Peticus, is moved to second place in 361. Of men who were consul four times, M. Claudius Marcellus is moved to second place in 222 and 210 (see note 10 above), Q. Fulvius Flaccus in 212, C. Marcius Rutilus in 342, Q. Publius Philo in 320. Of men who were consul two or three times, M. Aemilius Lepidus, ancestor of the *pontifex maximus* and former *triumvir*, is moved to second place in 175, another M. Claudius Marcellus in 166, Q. Fabius Rullianus in 322 and 308, C. Iunius Brutus in 317, T. Manlius Imperiosus in 347, C. Sulpicius Longus in 337. It is to be noted that no alterations are made in the *FC* for the position of C. Marius, consul seven times, or for two men who were consuls four times, the great Valerius Publicola and L. Cornelius Cinna.

12. Both consuls were chosen from this family in 18 a.c., the year when the Parthian arch was being erected. From the beginning of the republic to 49 a.c. the family had seventeen consulships, including one *consul suffectus* and one instance of uncertain records. In the other fifteen consulships the Lentuli are second in the *FC* only in 275 and 49 (on the latter year see note 10 above). Livy's order is reversed in 303, and, if Cassiodorus is trustworthy, in 236 and 130. In the latter case Obsequens and the republican *Fasti Antiaties* support Cassiodorus. For other branches of the Corneli who are transferred to second place see the records for 485, 413, 332, 306, 191, and the testimony of Livy's derivatives in 290, 274, and 257.

13. The Manlii are transferred to first position in 480, 474, 189, 179, and (on the testimony of Cassiodorus, Obsequens and the *Didascaliae* of Terence) 165. The only Manlius known in the Augustan Age is the Torquatus whose *gens* is celebrated in Horace, *C. 4. 7* (cf. *Epist. 1. 5*). It would seem that this was another old patrician family that Augustus was trying to revive.

14. Livy's order is reversed in 347 and 318. Interest in this family may explain why the triumphal *fasti* record under 358 a triumph of a Plautius not mentioned by Livy.

15. In 212, 211, 189, and 179. As I stated above, Livy's account of the election of 189 makes it clear that Fulvius was elected first. In the *FC* the Fulvii come first in 322, 255, 153, and 135. Livy seems to have had the same order in 153 and 135, and the reverse order in 322 (where Fabius Rullianus is taken out of the first position in the *FC*) and, to judge from his derivatives, in 255.

16. A few of the changes may have been motivated by a desire to make great names conspicuous and dishonored names inconspicuous. Thus Livy's order, if we can trust his derivatives, is reversed to put M. Curius Dentatus first in 290; it is certainly altered for the Elder Cato in 195. On the other hand, Q. Servilius Caepio, who was disgraced after his consulship in 106, is removed from the first place given him by the derivatives of Livy and the republican *Fasti Antiaties*, and a consul of the same name is also transferred to second place in 140.

17. In the years in which Diodorus' list is not too corrupt to permit comparison with the other records I find 52 cases of agreement in the order of names with Livy and the *FC*, 12 cases in which Diodorus and Livy agree against the *FC*, 20 cases in which Diodorus agrees with the *FC* against Livy and 14 cases in which Diodorus diverges, while Livy and the *FC* agree. Like Diodorus, two other writers in Greek, Polybius and Dio, are careless about the order of names. Diodorus' disregard of order may mean that his source was not Roman but Greek, perhaps, as Beloch, *Römische Geschichte* (Berlin, 1926), pp. 121 ff. Mommsen's view that Diodorus depended on Fabius has been questioned in recent years. See Klotz, *Rh. Mus.*, LXXXVI (1937), 206-24. Diodorus' list has inspired far more confidence than it deserves.

18. Dionysius' records are preserved only from 509 to 443. In fourteen of these years it is impossible, because of lacunae, omissions, or lack of clarity either in Dionysius or in Livy, or because the chief magistrates are *decemviri* or consular tribunes, to make a comparison between the two. In 33 years there is general agreement on the order. In the following years Dionysius agrees with the *FC* against Livy: 503, 498, 493, 486, 485, 482, 480, 475, 474, 469, 466, 460, 458, 457. In 452 Dionysius and Livy agree against the *FC*; in 502, 499, 476, 471, and 465 Livy and *FC* agree against Dionysius.

19. This does not mean that the version in the *FC* was Dionysius' only source for the names of magistrates. He differs from the *FC* in the treatment of *consules suffecti* in 463 and 453. His order of the *decemviri* does not follow the *FC*. He does not use the chronology of the *FC*. See Schwartz, s.v. "Dionysius" (112), *RE*, 937 ff.

20. Comparison of the *FC* with the republican *Fasti Antiaties*, preserved for many years between 163 and 84, reveals that Livy's derivatives, which in 130 and 106 agree with the *Fast. Ant.*, coincide with the *FC* in 139 in giving preference to a Calpurnius Piso and in 90 in giving first position to L. Iulius Caesar, both times in opposition to the *Fasti Antiaties*. Perhaps Livy was influenced by the official list in his later books.

21. See the instances cited *CP*, XLI (1946), p. 8, n. 30. Note also Livy's omission of the consuls listed under 393 in the *FC* as *vitio creati* and of the *consul suffectus* of 478, and the conflicting evidence between Livy and the *FC* on the dictatorship in the years 418, 361, 348, 320, 313, 312, and 301. See also Livy's explicit statement that there were eight military tribunes in 403, when the *FC* list six. There are also variations in *praenomina* and many differences in *cognomina*.

22. 2. 15. 4-8: "Sicuti kapite VII legis Iuliae priori ex consulibus fasces sumendi potestas fit, non qui pluris annos natus est, sed qui pluris liberos quam collega aut in sua potestate habet aut bello amisit. Sed si par utrique numerus liberorum est, maritus aut qui in numero maritorum est praefertur; si vero ambo et mariti et patres totidem liberorum sunt, tum ille pristinus honos instauratur et qui maior natu est prior fasces sumit. . . Solitos tamen audio, qui lege potiores essent, fasces primi mensis collegis concedere aut longe aetate prioribus aut nobilioribus multo aut secundum consulatum ineuntibus."

23. Q. Caecilius Macedonicus, *cos.* 143, famous for four sons who reached the consulship, is left in second place.

24. See G. Howe, *Fasti sacerdotum p. R. publicorum aetatis imperatoriae* (Leipzig, 1904). See also the list of Augustan senators in De Laet, *De Samenstelling van den romeinschen Senaat* (Antwerp, 1941). It is difficult to determine which men belonged to the college in 18, but assuming that, as was true under the republic, men of the high nobility obtained election to priesthoods early in their careers, I would make the following (obviously incomplete) list of members: Augustus; Tiberius; the *pontifex maximus* M. Aemilius Lepidus; Paullus Fabius Maximus, *cos.* 11 B.C., descendant of Fabii and Aemilii; L. Cornelius Lentulus, *cos.* 3 B.C., *flamen Martialis* (the three major *flamines* belonged to the college of *pontifices* and were usually elected when they were young); Cn. Domitius Calvinus, *cos.* 53 and 40, still living in 21 B.C.; L. Calpurnius Piso, *cos.* 15 B.C., member of a house which did not receive particularly favorable position in the lists (but see note 20 above); M. Titius, *cos.* 31, a new man; L. Cornelius Balbus, *triumphator* of 19 B.C., a new man.

25. See note 13 above. From the favorable treatment accorded the Plautii one might suspect that there may have been a member of that house in the college. The most prominent Augustan of the name M. Plautius Silvanus, *cos.* 2 B.C., was a *septemvir epulonum*, and not a *pontifex*.

26. The names of the two censors seem also to have been placed in a fixed order, determined probably by priority of election, but the order does not appear to have been altered in the *FC*. Livy and the *FC* can be compared only for thirteen censorships, and they agree except in 209, where Livy gives the names once in a different order and a second time in the order of the *FC*.

27. *Op. cit.*, pp. xiv f.; cf. p. 110.

28. Solln. 1. 27. Leuze has tried to show that the *FC* are not in conflict with Atticus and Varro on this date. See *Die römische Jahrzahl* (Tübingen, 1909), pp. 254 ff.

29. *Brutus* 72 (where Cicero accepts Atticus' date for the founding of Rome and calculates from 753 instead of Polybius' date, 750, which is used in the *De republica*) shows that Atticus adopted an alteration of Roman chronology which, like the insertion of the dictator years, broke down the accepted correspond-

ence between Greek and Roman chronology. (I was wrong when I stated in *CP*, XLI [1946], 10 that this change created harmony.) Varro, *RR* 1. 2. 9, shows that Varro, whose chronological scheme seems to have been identical with Atticus', agrees with the *FC* on the number of years assigned to the republic. These passages form the chief basis for the generally accepted view that Varro and Atticus counted the dictator years. It has also been argued that Diodorus in estimating the length of the Second Samnite War took account of two dictator years. See Beloch, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 f.

30. See *De sen.* 60 (written in 44), where Cicero says that there was an interval of forty-six years between the first and the sixth consulship of Valerius Corvus (348-299). This is the period in which the four dictator years are inserted in the *FC* and Cicero does not include them in his count. Similarly in *De sen.* 15 the fourth dictator year, 301, is not counted.

31. In *CP*, XLI (1946), 10 I suggested that the manipulations of chronology were designed to put the first two celebrations (456 and 346) in years under consuls of the Valerian house, the family associated by tradition with the origin of the secular games. I would also point out that the other years invented for these imaginary celebrations had consuls of families that were still prominent in the Augustan Age. In 236 a Cornelius Lentulus, member of the house that supplied both consuls in 18, was consul; in 126 one consul was an Aemilius Lepidus, a member of whose family was on the Board of Fifteen Men in 17. The importance of the consuls in the arrangement of the celebration is revealed by the Augustan *Acta ludorum saecularium* (*CIL*, VI, 32323, lines 37, 52, 59). The consuls of 18 B.C. and the members of the college of *quindecimviri* may have had some influence on the manipulations. (On the identity of the two Valerii my statement, *loc. cit.*, is to be corrected. They were Messalla Messallinus, son of the great Messalla, and P. Valerius Messalla, now identified as the *consul suffectus* of 29 B.C. See Degraffi, *op. cit.*, p. 288.)

32. This is Mrs. Gordon's argument and it is proved by evidence from the *acta* which shows that the senate met on February 17 to make the arrangements. See Mommsen, *Eph. epig.*, VIII, 245.

33. Holland thinks that if the inscription of the *triumphatores* had been planned all the plasters would have been filled.

34. See the list of variations in Degraffi's valuable index, *op. cit.*, p. 641.

AMULETTES MAGIQUES A PROPOS D'UN OUVRAGE RECENT¹

A. J. FESTUGIÈRE

L'OUVRAGE capital du Professeur Campbell Bonner comble une lacune importante dans notre connaissance de l'antiquité gréco-romaine. On sait quelle place tient la magie dans toutes les couches de la société sous l'Empire. Or, si nous étions jusqu'ici assez bien renseignés sur les formulaires magiques, en particulier grâce au recueil de Preisendanz (*PGM*), il nous manquait un bon travail sur les amulettes magiques. L'étude de ces documents a été trop longtemps gâtée par l'habitude qu'on avait de les tenir pour gnostiques, et d'y chercher par conséquent toutes sortes de doctrines abstruses. Sur ce point, *MA* déblaye le terrain comme l'a fait Lobeck, dans son fameux *Aglaophamus*, pour les mystères grecs. Il n'y a rien, ou presque rien, de gnostique dans les amulettes. En revanche, elles rappellent à tout coup les croyances magiques, voire astrologiques, si généralement répandues sous l'Empire. C'est dans ce contexte que les étudie le Professeur Bonner, avec l'érudition et la sûreté de méthode qu'on devait attendre de ce savant.² Le titre *Magical Amulets* est donc bien approprié. Encore voudrais-je ici avancer une remarque qui confirme ce que dit l'auteur lui-même (p. 6). Une « amulette » ou un « talisman » est un objet qui, sous quelque forme qu'on le porte (pendentif, anneau, etc.), préserve par sa force même, par la seule vertu de son contact (*MA*, p. 2). Le désir de posséder de tels talismans est aussi ancien que l'homme et sans doute aussi constant : que de gens, aujourd'hui encore, se munissent de « porte-bonheurs » ! C'est là de la superstition et, si l'on veut, de la magie.

Mais la mère qui met au cou de son bébé, ou de son grand fils partant pour la guerre, une médaille de la Vierge ou d'un saint, peut obéir à un sentiment de religion sincère et profond : elle veut mettre l'enfant sous la protection du saint, et, priant le saint, elle se rassure à la pensée que celui qu'elle aime en porte l'insigne. Entre le porte-bonheur et la médaille, mille nuances sont possibles. Il a dû en être de même dans l'antiquité. Certains Epicuriens, au temps de Cicéron, portaient des anneaux ornés de l'image d'Epicure : (*Epicuri*) *imaginem non modo in tabulis nostri familiares sed etiam in poculis et in anulis habent* (*De fin.* 5. 1. 3). Epicure est ici assimilé à un héros ou un dieu³ et les disciples se mettent ainsi sous la tutelle de leur divin protecteur. Vers le même temps ou peu après commence tout le bric à brac des amulettes magiques.

Une recension n'est utile que détaillée. Après avoir examiné les divisions et une donnée plus générale de l'ouvrage, j'en discuterai donc quelques points en détail.

I-II.—Introduction. Eléments nationaux et influences nationales. Surtout égyptiennes et juives, qu'il s'agisse de magiciens juifs ou de païens utilisant des noms divins ou des noms d'anges juifs et des souvenirs de la Bible (pp. 30 s.). Peu d'éléments iraniens (pp. 32 s.). Même conclusion, à propos des papyrus magiques, chez Nilsson, *Bull. Soc. Roy. Lund*, 1947-48, p. 93 : « Iranisches fehlt so gut wie völlig » (cf. aussi pp. 62 s.). Je ne vois rien d'iranien, pour ma part, dans le « Glaive de Dardanos » (*PGM*, iv. 1716 ss.), ἀγώγιμον où l'on utilise une pierre gravée : à l'avvers Aphrodite chevauchant

Psyché, en dessous Eros tenant une torche avec laquelle il brûle Psyché; au revers, Eros et Psyché enlacés. Rien ici qui ne rappelle le conte d'Apulée (4. 28 ss.),⁴ et, malgré toutes les élucubrations de Reitzenstein, je ne vois pas la moindre allusion, ni dans Apulée ni dans le « Glaive, » à une déesse Ame, dont il faudrait encore prouver qu'elle est d'origine iranienne. La téléte du *πάρεδρος* *Ἔρως*, qui utilise deux statuettes (en cire) d'Eros et Psyché (PGM, xii. 16 ss.), ne comporte non plus aucun élément iranien, mais bien des éléments égyptiens (τοῦ ἁγίου κανθάρου, 44 ss.; ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ λωτοῦ καθήμενος, 87), juifs (Ἰάω Ἀδωνεαί, 24; Ἰάων Σαβαώθ Ἀδωναί, 74; Σαβαώθ, 80; Ἀμήν, 85) et grecs (σὺ εἰ ὁ περιέχων τὰς Χάριτας ἐν τῇ κορυφῇ, 24 s.). Encore les éléments juifs se bornent-ils à l'emploi tout à fait banal des noms divins et à l'apotropaïque Ἀμήν. L'ensemble est de pure magie. En somme, des gemmes « mithriaques » décrites dans MA (pp. 33 ss.), seules me paraissent se rattacher sûrement à Mithra celles qui portent la scène bien connue de la tauroktonia.⁵ Comme le marque l'auteur (p. 33), le mot *μειθρας* à lui seul ne prouve rien lorsqu'il est mêlé à des mots magiques, ici (BM, 56485) comme en PGM, iii. 80. Pour ce qui regarde la combinaison (p. 35) de la tauroktonia à l'avvers et d'Eros et Psyché au revers,⁶ il faut attendre des preuves solides avant de lui attribuer une origine iranienne: car il se peut fort bien que, pour atteindre un même but (charme d'amour?), le magicien ait fait graver deux scènes, indépendantes quant à leur origine, mais convergentes quant à l'effet.⁷

III-VII.—Magie protectrice et prophylactique: magie médicale IV-VI; protection contre des périls inconnus VII.

VIII.—Magie agressive.

IX-XI.—Types solaires: dieu angipède à tête de coq (Abraxas) IX; soleil jeune X; autres types solaires XI.

XII.—Types panthéistiques ou monstrueux.

XIII-XIV.—Inscriptions (XIII textes intelligibles; XIV textes cryptiques).

XV.—Amulettes palestiniennes, syriennes, chrétiennes.

XVI.—Types rares, obscurs ou problématiques. Suit la description des 398 nos. représentés sur les planches (pp. 249-323). L'ouvrage est complété par de précieux index.

J'ai hâte de passer au détail, en abordant quelques problèmes au fur et à mesure qu'ils se présentent dans le livre.⁸

Pp. 14 ss.—Il est souvent question, dans PGM, d'une consécration de l'amulette ou, pour mieux dire, de l'infusion d'une vertu magique dans l'amulette (MA, Add., p. 324). Ainsi, dans le « Glaive de Dardanos » (PGM, iv. 1716 ss.), on commence par graver sur la pierre les images indiquées plus haut (p. 81 s.), puis, quand la pierre a été gravée et consacrée, on s'en sert de la manière prescrite: γλυφέντι δὲ τῷ λίθῳ καὶ τελεσθέντι χρῶσθαι (1743 s.). Les deux opérations, glyptique et téléstique, sont, on le voit, distinctes. Même distinction dans la κατασκευὴ du parédros Eros (xii. 16 ss.). Quand les statuettes en cire d'Eros et de Psyché ont été achevées, on les consacre: πάντα ταῦτα ἀποτελέσας ἀφίερωσον ἡμέρας γ' (xii. 20). Cette ἀφίερωσις ou τελετή est ensuite décrite (20 ss.). De même encore v. 239 ss. (Ἑρμοῦ δακτύλιος). Sur une émeraude de prix on grave un scarabée et, sous le scarabée, la sainte Isis. On perce la pierre, y passe un fil d'or, puis on la consacre: εἰς λίθον σμάραγδον πολυτελεῖ γλῆφον κάνθαρον..., εἰς δὲ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ κανθάρου γλῆφον Ἱσιν ἱερὰν καὶ τελέσας ὡς προγράπται (au début de la recette 216 ss.) χρῶ. De même enfin vii. 579 ss. (phylactère). Sur une feuille d'or, d'argent ou d'étain on inscrit la formule et trace

le dessin, puis on consacre: καὶ τελέσας φόρει (590). Les procédés requis pour la télété sont parfois indiqués, parfois omis: ils sont toujours distincts de la gravure elle-même. Dans ces conditions, la seule gravure, de l'image ou d'une inscription, peut-elle constituer la télété? L'auteur le pense (MA, p. 14), d'après quelques textes des *Lapidaires grecs*, Mély-Ruelle, II, 175. 7: γλύφεται ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λίθῳ (sc. ὑάκινθος) τῷ καθαρῷ Ποσειδῶν κτλ. τελέσας οὐν οὕτως ἔχε φορῶν τὸ δακτύλιον; 162. 12: λαβὼν οὐν τὸν προκείμενον λίθον ἐπιχάρασσε αὐτῷ τὸν τοῦ σταύρου χαρακτήρα. οὗτος (οὕτως B) τελεσθεὶς καὶ φορούμενος πολλὴν ἀγάπην περιποιεῖται τοῖς ἔχουσιν κτλ.; 168. 11: τελείται (sc. λίθος σαρδαχάτης) δὲ τῇ ὑπογραφῇ ταύτῃ (suit l'inscription). Je doute de cette exégèse, pour trois raisons: (1) On n'a aucun exemple, que je sache, en PGM, que la seule gravure constitue la télété: nos textes distinguent les deux opérations (γλυφέντι καὶ τελεσθέντι, ταῦτα ἀποτελέσας ἀφιέρωσον, γλύψον καὶ τελέσας χρῶ). (2) L'usage serait contraire à tout ce que nous connaissons de la téléstique, dont les pratiques me paraissent bien définies par l'Asclépius. Il s'agit de créer des statues vivantes (24, 326.11), *statuas animatas sensu et spiritu plenas* (cf. PGM, iv. 1829: ἔστιν τὸ ἐπίθυμα τὸ ἐμφυχοῦν τὸν Ἑρῶτα). Elles seront vivantes parce qu'on y aura introduit l'âme d'un dieu, démon ou ange par une certaine matière (37, 347. 10), *proavi nostri ... invenerunt artem qua efficerent deos. cui inventae adiunxerunt virtutem de mundi natura* (tirée de la nature matérielle) *eamque miscentes ... evocantes animas daemonum vel angelorum eas indiderunt imaginibus sanctis divinisque mysteriis*. Cette nature matérielle est enfin décrite (38, 384. 21), *constat ... de herbis, de lapidibus et de aromatibus divinitatis naturalem vim in se habentibus*. (3) Dans les deux premiers textes cités, on peut comprendre

τελέσας et τελεσθεὶς comme se rapportant à la télété sans que la télété consiste dans la gravure; simplement les procédés de la télété ne sont pas indiqués, pas plus qu'en PGM, iv. 1743 et vii. 579. On lira ainsi Mély-Ruelle, 175. 7: τελέσας οὐν, οὕτως ἔχε φορῶν κτλ. = « L'ayant consacré, porte-le etc. » De même 162. 12: « Cet anneau, une fois consacré et porté etc. » Ce sens ne convient plus dans le dernier cas 168. 11: τελείται δὲ τῇ ὑπογραφῇ ταύτῃ. Mais τελείται peut fort bien s'entendre: « La pierre est achevée, menée à perfection, » (cf. ἀποτελέσας en PGM, xii. 20 [πάντα ταῦτα ἀποτελέσας]), et peut-être est-ce bien là le sens dans les trois textes des *Lapidaires*. On notera que, dans M.-R., 168. 11, le ms. R porte τέλης δὲ εἰς τὸν λίθον ὑπογραφὴν ταύτην, οὗ τέλης équivaut à γλύψον (cf. PGM, v. 239 ss. εἰς λίθον ... γλύψον). De toute manière, ces textes des *Lapidaires* n'obligent pas, me semble-t-il, à établir l'équivalence gravure = consécration.

Pp. 69 ss.—Certaines gemmes contre les maux d'yeux portent, à l'avvers, un lézard avec l'inscription πηρά,⁹ au revers l'inscription κανθεσουλε ou κανθε σουλε (une fois κανθε ουλε). L'auteur (p. 71) a reconnu κανθός, « coin de l'œil » et par extension « œil » (LSJ, I, 2). Mais σουλε? Certes, il est vain de chercher un sens quand il s'agit purement d'une *vox magica* (MA, Add., p. 325, ad 156 s.).¹⁰ Cependant, étant donné que πηρά, quoi qu'il en soit du mot, se rapporte certainement à la cécité, et que κανθέ est facilement reconnaissable, est-il absurde de supposer la simple phrase κανθέ, σ' οὐλε(ῖ) = « œil, (le lézard) te guérit »? La forme active οὐλέω est attestée par Hésychius et le grammairien Grégoire de Corinthe (cf. LSJ), sans parler de l'οὐλε homérique (de οὐλω). Mieux encore, dans le traité sur les plantes zodiacales faisant

suite au récit de Thessalos de Tralles (CCAG, VIII, 3, 145. 1), si le ms. A donne l'actif οὔλοι (τὸ δὲ παράδοξον, ὅτι οὔλοι, sc. ἡ καλαμίνθη), le ms. F a οὐλή qui ne peut être que ou une mauvaise lecture ou une corruption de οὐλεῖ. On trouverait sans doute d'autres exemples.

Pp. 71 ss.—Sur une série de gemmes contre la sciatique (D. 115–27), l'avvers porte l'image d'un moissonneur âgé tourné vers la droite, ordinairement coiffé d'un pilos, qui, courbé, fauche avec une harpè des épis, divers en nombre selon les figures. Quelques uns de ces épis sont déjà fauchés et il n'en reste plus que les tiges. Derrière le moissonneur est un arbre. C'est une petite scène de genre: l'arbre est tout à fait dans le style des reliefs hellénistiques. Au revers est inscrit σχιων (ou σχιον), où l'on a justement reconnu ισχιων, « pour les hanches. » La scène est ainsi expliquée par l'auteur (p. 73), après M. Seyrig: « Reapers, of all labourers, seem most to need the power of free and supple movement from the waist; perhaps to a sufferer from lumbago and sciatica a reaper in the fields seemed to be immune from such tortures, and hence the figure of a man reaping grain would be good magic for his ailment. As Seyrig puts it, the sciatic patient would like to be able to do such work when his cure is accomplished. » J'avoue que cette explication ne me convainc pas. Est-il un seul cas, dans toute la série des amulettes magiques, où l'on se soit simplement contenté d'un εἰδύλλιον sans rapport direct à l'effet qu'on veut obtenir?¹¹ On montre le dieu ou démon protecteur; on montre une scène où ce dieu ou démon menace ou abat le mal à éviter; ailleurs encore, on montre le dieu ou démon qui cause le mal et, du même coup, en délivre; on montre l'animal qui guérit (lézard) ou l'animal dont on se préserve (scorpion). Mais voit-on jamais, en ces intailles, un pur tableau de genre?

Et pourquoi le moissonneur? Sans doute il a besoin de ses jambes. Mais bien plus encore le messenger, le coureur, l'athlète. Dans la *Tragodopodagra* du ps. Lucien, le messenger s'excuse de n'avoir pas couru vite parce qu'il est podagre (240): μύσσης γὰρ ὦν σὸς ταχὺ τρέχειν οὐκ ἔσθενον. En vérité il n'est pas de métier qui ne soit empêché par la sciatique, et la raison qu'on propose n'explique rien. De même que Bonner a ingénieusement retrouvé Eole sur des amulettes contre la colique (MA, pp. 64 ss.), de même que, contre la goutte, on représente Persée brandissant la harpè avec laquelle il vient de décapiter Méduse (inscr. φύγε ποδάγρα, Περσεύς σε διώχι, sc. διώκει [MA, pp. 75 s.]), de même, à mon sens, doit-on chercher ici un type divin dont la harpè soit le signe distinctif, et qui soit en relation et avec la sciatique (ou les maux de jambes en général) et avec les travaux des champs. Or ce type existe: c'est Kronos. Je donne ici les textes.

A. KRONOS ET LA ποδάγρα

Marquons tout de suite que la ποδάγρα, pour l'ancien, n'est pas une maladie des pieds seuls, mais proprement la goutte sciatique des modernes, qui affecte tout le nerf sciatique depuis le bassin jusqu'aux pieds. Quelquefois même on entend sous ce nom la χειράγρα, cf. ps. Lucien *Tragodopod.* (121 ss.):

πόδα, γόνυ, κοτύλην, ἀστραγάλους, ἰσχία, μηρούς, / χεῖρας, ὠμοπλάτας, βραχίονας, κόρωνα, καρπούς / ἔσθαι, νέμεται, φλέγει κτλ.

Nos textes sont astrologiques et de trois sortes. Les premiers concernent la nature et la vertu des planètes; les seconds concernent les plantes médicinales en rapport avec les planètes; le troisième est tiré d'un chapitre sur la goutte dans la compilation de Rhétorios.¹²

I. DE PLANETARUM NATURA AC VI

1. Vett. Val. 2. 14 Kr.:

τῶν δὲ τοῦ σώματος μελῶν κυριεύει (sc. Κρονος) σκελῶν, γονάτων, νεύρων, ιχθῶρων,

φλέγματος, κύστεως, νεφρῶν καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς ἀποκρίφων. συνῶν δὲ δηλωτικὸς ὅσα συνίσταται ἐκ ψύξεως καὶ ὑγρότητος, οἷον ὑδρωπικῶν, νεύρων ἀλλογδόνων, ποδάγρας, βηχὸς κτλ.

2. Rhétorios, *CCAG*, VII, 214. 12 (cf. V, 4. 135): κυριεύει (sc. Kronos) τοῦ σώματος σκελῶν, γονάτων, ιχώρων ... <συνῶν δὲ> ὅσα διὰ ψύξεως καὶ ὑγρότητος, ποδάγρας, χειράγρας.
ibid., 215. 20: ἄγει ... ρεύματα καὶ ψύξεις καὶ νευρικὰ πάθη.
ibid., 215. 27: Κρόνος τὴν κυρίαν τοῦ θανάτου λαβὼν ποιεῖ διὰ ρευματισμῶν.

II. PLANTES PLANÉTAIRES¹³

3. *CCAG*, IV, 136. 4 (= VI, 84. 13): ἡ βοτάνη τοῦ Κρόνου (asphodèle ou héracléia) ... ταύτης ὁ χυλὸς μετὰ στύρακος πόνους ἰᾶται γονάτων καὶ ποδῶν, τῆς ρίζης δὲ ὁ χυλὸς ἐψηθεὶς ὠφελεῖ πόνους νεφρῶν.
 4. *CCAG*, VII, 234. 20 (asphodèle): ταύτης ὁ χυλὸς καὶ ἡ ρίζα ἀρμόζει τοῖς τὰ γόνατα πάσχουσιν· καὶ γὰρ πόνον καὶ κόπον ἰᾶται. δίδονται καὶ ὁ τῆς ρίζης χυλὸς ἐψηθεὶς ὀλίγον τοῖς τοῖς νεφροῖς ἀλγοῦσι· ἀποκαθαίρει γὰρ καὶ ὑγιάίνει.
 5. *CCAG*, VIII, 3, 155. 3: (ἀείζων) ποιεῖ δὲ ἡ δύναμις πρὸς ποδάγρας. Suivent des prescriptions relatives aux deux sortes de ποδάγρα, selon que domine le froid ou le chaud.
 6. *CCAG*, VIII, 3, 160. 20 (asphodèle): ταύτης τῆς ρίζης ὁ χυλὸς ἄριστα τοῖς τὰ γόνατα πάσχουσιν ἀρμόζει. La suite comme Notre No. 4.

III. Περὶ ποδαγρῶν

7. Rhétor., *CCAG*, VIII, 4, 191. 14 (voir aussi VII, 112. 5: <Ἀντιόχου> περὶ συνῶν, φαλακρῶν, ποδαγρῶν κτλ.): Ceux dont le κλήρος de la Fortune est dans le Sagittaire, le Capricorne, le Verseau ou les Poissons, deviennent podagres et rhumatisants, μάλιστα Κρόνον αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεωροῦντος. De même ceux dont l'astre dominateur est ὑπὸ Κρόνον θεωρούμενος: dans ce cas aussi Kronos les rend ρευματικούς περὶ τοῦς πόδας.
ibid., 192. 6: ὁ δὲ Κρόνος ἐν Λέοντι τὸν πατέρα βλέπτει ἀπὸ ποδάγρας.

Plus loin, dans un chapitre, περὶ μίμων (218. 3), si Saturne, Mercure dans le domicile de Saturne et la Lune se rencontrent dans le Taureau, ποιῶσι σοφὸν ῥήτορα (ceci vient de Mercure) ... ρευματίζόμενον τοὺς πόδας ἢ τὰ ἄρθρα.

Ainsi la tradition est constante:¹⁴ Saturne s'intéresse à toutes les maladies des jambes qui empêchent de se mouvoir librement. La raison en est claire: c'est que Saturne souffre lui-même, si l'on peut dire, de ποδάγρα, il a la démarche lourde et lente, et comme empêchée.¹⁵ Selon Ptolémée (*Tétr.* 144. 2) ceux qui sont nés sous le signe de Saturne à son couchant sont ὑπόψιλοι et ὑπόρρυθμοι, ce qu'il faut traduire, je crois, « médiocrement lisses » (sc. assez poilus) et de démarche médiocrement réglée, sc. irrégulière et sans souplesse.¹⁶

B. KRONOS ET L'AGRICULTURE

Nous avons ici et des textes astrologiques et des faits de culte.

1. Vett. Val. 2. 9 Kr.: γεηπόνους δὲ καὶ γεωργούς ποιεῖ διὰ τὸ τῆς γῆς αὐτὸν κυριεύειν.
 2. Ptol. *Tétr.* 175. 19: ποιεῖ πολυκτήμονας ... διὰ θεμελίων ἢ γεωργῶν ἢ ναυκληριῶν.
 3. Rhétor., *CCAG*, VIII, 4, 167. 32: (ὁ Κρόνος) ... ποιεῖ εὐσχήμενας καὶ φιλογεώργους καὶ φιλοπαρύργους = Firm. Mat. *Math.* I, 102. 22: faciet honestos ... agricolas.
 4. Rhétor., *CCAG*, VII, 214. 14: σημαίνει δὲ ... γεωπονίας.
ibid., 215. 11: ἐπαναφερόμενος ἀνατολικὸς ἀγρῶν ... κυρίαν δώσει (la chasse est un des passe-temps du campagnard).
 5. *Liber Hermetis* 80. 36 Gundel: la Lune conjointe à Saturne facit agricolas (de même 85. 4).
ibid., 100. 32: si vero Saturnus aspererit eum (Mercure), facit agricolas.

Ces textes astrologiques ne font que prolonger une longue tradition de culte. Les Kronia d'Athènes ont lieu en plein été, après la moisson.¹⁷ Une monnaie d'Himèra, du V^e siècle, porte à l'avvers la tête de Kronos, au revers le foudre entre deux épis.¹⁸

Enfin il n'est pas besoin d'insister sur la harpè, emblème obligé de Kronos. On notera cependant que cette harpè peut revêtir une valeur toute particulière dans la magie: Persée avec sa harpè poursuit la goutte; Kronos avec sa harpè menace la sciaticque.

Toutes ces raisons m'induisent à voir dans notre moissonneur le dieu Kronos, qui d'ailleurs n'est pas absent des papyrus magiques.¹⁹ Saturne guérit de la *ποδάγρα*, il est le dieu de la moisson, il porte la *ἀρόη*. Y a-t-il plus? Bouché-Leclercq écrit (*Astr. gr.*, p. 94): « La faux avec laquelle il avait mutilé son père Ouranos lui servait à moissonner tout ce qui grandit sur la terre. » En ce cas, Kronos serait lui aussi un moissonneur. Malheureusement, Bouché-Leclercq n'offre aucun texte à l'appui de ce Kronos *θεριστής* et je n'en connais point moi-même.²⁰

Pp. 87 ss. (D. 144).—Une gemme appartenant à M. Seyrig et publiée déjà par lui,²¹ présente au revers une curieuse figure. En bas, une sorte de support à base tronc-conique et s'évasant ensuite en calice. Plus haut, mais non posé sur le calice, un vase orné de trois lignes incurvées parallèles au fond. A droite et à gauche de ce vase, la tête un peu au dessus de l'orifice, deux serpents allongés, la gueule ouverte, paraissant assoiffés. Au dessus du vase, une roue (ou disque solaire) à huit rayons. Sur la base tronc-conique, *Ιαω*. En dessous, les sept voyelles. Autour de l'image, à gauche *μεθαδωα*, à droite *νοει Σαβαωθ*. Je n'ai pas l'impression que le vase ressemble au symbole utérin: il a son orifice en haut et la forme n'est pas exactement la même; tous les accessoires habituels manquent. L'avvers est presque entièrement occupé par un ptérygoma (cf. *PGM*, xiii. 901), figure où une même inscription est reproduite de ligne en ligne avec exclusion successivement de la 1^{re}, 2^e, 3^e lettre etc. En bas à

gauche, guerrier tourné vers la gauche, cuirassé, casqué, orné du bouclier (m. g.) et de la lance (m. dr.). Au dessus, foudre. L'inscription est celle-ci (je laisse, pour l'instant, le premier mot sans accent): *δυψας Τάνταλε, αἷμα πίε*. M. Seyrig traduit (cité p. 88, n. 44): « Tantale assoiffé bois le sang »: cela supposerait *δυψήσας*. Bonner accentue *δυψάς* κτλ. et pense reconnaître ici le serpent *dipsas*, serpent venimeux dont la morsure causait une soif intense (cf. *LSJ*, s.v., II). Mais l'alliance *δυψάς Τάνταλε* est en ce cas bien étrange. Il est plus naturel de lire *δυψᾶς, Τάνταλε*; *αἷμα πίε*, et de traduire: « Tu as soif, Tantale? Bois le sang. » Bonner (p. 88) ne voit pas de rapport entre ce Tantale de l'inscription et le guerrier armé de l'avvers. C'est aussi mon sentiment, non plus que je ne vois de rapport entre l'inscription de l'avvers et les deux serpents du revers (le type de deux animaux, cerfs, oiseaux, serpents, flanquant un vase est fréquent)²² ni enfin entre le vase du revers et le symbole utérin. Peut-être, pour l'exégèse de la pierre, devrait-on partir de la formule *αἷμα πίε*. Des démons qui boivent le sang sont chose connue dans la magie. Philostrate (V. *Ap. T.* 4. 25) conte l'histoire d'un jeune homme de Corinthe, Ménippus, sauvé d'une lamie par Apollonius. Cette lamie soignait son jeune amant pour le dévorer ensuite: *τὰ γὰρ καλὰ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ νέα σιτεῖσθαι ἐνόμιζεν, ἐπειδὴ ἀκραφνὲς αὐτοῖς τὸ αἷμα*. Dans le dialogue entre Apollonius et Ménippus, on notera ce trait: *σὺ μέντοι ... ὄφιν θάλπεις καὶ σέ ὄφιν*: la lamie est dite un « serpent. » On lit dans le *Testament de Salomon*²³ le récit d'un enfant qui, la nuit, voit s'approcher de lui un démon: celui-ci lui mord le bout du petit doigt *καὶ βυζάνει* (suce), *πίνει τὸ αἷμά μου* (214. 33: cf. 215. 34: *ἐπινες τὸ αἷμά μου*). Or nous avons quelques charmes médicaux, tardifs il est vrai, contre ces démons *αἱμοπόται*. J'en donne ici le texte.

1. Delatte, *Anecd. Athen.*, I, 141. 23.²⁴ La figure (décrite par D.) représente un serpent (*ouroboros* ?) entouré de la formule suivante: 'Αστέρα μελανή μελανωμένη, αἷμα τρώγεις, αἷμα πίνεις, 'ς τὸ αἷμα συντελείεσαι, φεύγε, ῥίγος, ἀπὸ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ ὀδεῖνα καὶ τάξω σοι πέντε πίνακα μέλι καὶ πέντε πίνακα γάλα νὰ τρώγῃς καὶ νὰ πίνῃς· φεύγε, ῥίγος, ἀπὸ τ. δ. τ. Θ. ὁ δεῖνα. 'Αμὴν (Puis 'Ιησοῦς Χς νικᾷ quatre fois répété) = « Colique noire,²⁵ noircissante,²⁶ tu manges le sang, tu bois le sang, tu te roules dans le sang,²⁷ fuis, Frisson, loin du serviteur de Dieu, X, et je t'appréterai cinq plats de miel et cinq de lait pour que tu manges et boives. Fuis, Frisson, etc. »

Delatte traduit *ἀστέρα* par colique (*An. Ath.*, Index, p. 667), et c'est peut-être²⁸ en effet une forme apocopée de *γαστέρα* (avec disparition du γ comme dans *φάω* = *φάγω* infra [p. 88]), « ventre, » et par suite, ce semble, « mal de ventre. » Le mot paraît *An. Ath.*, 119. 15 dans une *Εὐχή τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων εἰς ῥίγον* (!). Vient d'abord (118.33 ss.) un exorcisme contre le Frisson: 'Ρίγος λιμνητικός, ῥίγος κραταῖος etc., ἐγὼ σὰς ἐξορκίζω. Puis toute une liste des maladies avec accompagnement de frisson: c'est ici que prend place la (γ)αστέρα, auprès des maux de tête et de main, de la miction difficile (*δυσουρία*), des hémorroïdes (*ἰσοχάδες*), etc. Ici encore le Frisson est un mauvais démon qu'on chasse (119. 16 ss.): ἀναχωρήσατε καὶ ἀπέλθετε εἰς τὰ ἄγρια ὄρη κτλ. P. 234. 8, en marge d'un exorcisme contre le démon 'Αληξέτεφας (buste d'homme, le reste du corps en spirale comme une coquille de murex, *εἰλούμενον καὶ ὥσει κόχλον*), le cod. Ath. B.N. 825 porte *εἰς ζάλην καὶ ἀστέρα*,²⁹ *εἰς ἐμπρισμόν* (l. *ἐμπρησμόν*) = « contre les flux de ventre et la colique, contre l'inflammation. »

2. *An. Ath.*, I, 553. 2.³⁰ Γράψον εἰς μοιχοῦρτιν (?)³¹ μετὰ τὸ μελάνιν· 'Αστέρα μελανή, ἀστέρα μελανωμένη καὶ <διὰ> δισμυρίων νέμων δεδημένη, αἷμα τρώγεις, αἷ-

μαν (!) πίνεις, εἰς αἷμαν (!) συγκυλίεσαι· ἀλλὰ ὀρκίζω σε εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον καὶ εἰς τοῦ ἁγίου Ζαχαρίου τὴν δρεπάνην καὶ εἰς τῆς ἁγίας 'Ελισάβετ τοὺς πλοκάμους, μὴ ἀδικήσῃς τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ Θεοῦ Ματθαῖον, διὰ ὀνόματος Πατρὸς κτλ. A la fin: ταῦτα γράψον καὶ λείωσον μετὰ οἴνου, ἐπίσταξον καὶ ὀλίγον ἔλαιον, δὸς πιεῖν καὶ λῆται.

« Ecris avec de l'encre sur (?). Colique noire, Colique noircissante, liée par une infinité de fils, tu manges le sang, tu bois le sang, tu te vautres dans le sang. Mais je t'adjure, par la plus que sainte Mère de Dieu, par la faux³² de Saint Zacharie, par les boucles de Sainte Elisabeth, ne cause nul dommage au serviteur de Dieu Mathieu, au nom du Père etc. » A la fin: « Ecris ces mots, triture avec du vin, verse en outre quelques gouttes d'huile, donne à boire et (le malade) est guéri. »

Ces deux textes nous permettent, je crois, de mieux comprendre un charme magique publié par Boll.

3. *CCAG*, VII, 245 s.³³ En tête $\frac{IC|XC}{NI|KA}$;

cf. No. 1 fin. Puis: εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ ... 'Αστέρα μελανή μελανωμένη αἵματηρός,³⁴ αἷμα πίνεις καὶ καλῶν ἀνθρώπων καρδίας παίρνεις·³⁵ ἀλλὰ ὀρκίζω σε, ἀστέρα, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀσαλεύτου, νὰ λείπῃς ἀπὸ τὸν (τὴν) δοῦλον (δοῦλην) τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ δεῖνα. Suit une série d'adjurations au nom des Chérubins, Séraphins, de Michel, Gabriel, Raphael, de Daniel, du Dieu souverain roi. A la fin (246. 2): δέσε καὶ χαλίνωσε αὐτὸν τὸν ἀστέρα³⁶ ἀπὸ τὸν (τὴν) δοῦλον (δοῦλην) τ. Θ. ὁ δ. Στῶμεν καλῶς. Στῶμεν μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ. 'Αμὴν trois fois.

« Colique noire, noircissante, sanguinolente, tu bois le sang et tu arraches le cœur des beaux hommes.³⁷ Mais je t'adjure, Colique, par le trône du Dieu inébranlable, de quitter le serviteur de Dieu, X. Je t'adjure etc. » A la fin: « Lie et réfrène la colique loin du serviteur de

Dieu, X. Tenons bon. Tenons dans la crainte de Dieu. Amen. »

Sous la formule, un *ouroboros* en spirale,³⁸ tout le corps armé d'ongles, entouré de l'inscription: ἐδῶ (hic) δένω καὶ ἀποδένω³⁹ τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα⁴⁰ σου ὄνυχας (l. ὄνυχας), ἦνα ἐλπίς (l. ἦνα ἐλλείψης) ἀπὸ τ. δ., etc. « Ici je lie et noue tes soixante-dix ongles, afin que tu quittes etc. »

Ce dernier texte suggère peut-être la correction appropriée dans une formule citée par Bonner.⁴¹

4. Avers: cavalier transperçant un démon; en dessous, mauvais œil attaqué par cinq animaux. Revers: anguipède surmonté de l'inscription <σ>τομαχε ἀντιστομαχε ὡς εμα εφαγε ὡς εμα ἐπιωκεν οὐτη κατωδωη. On est tenté de corriger comme suit:

α) <σ>τόμαχε, ἀντιστόμαχε, ὡς αἷμα ἔφαγε<ς>, ὡς αἷμα ἐπίωκες, οὕτω καταδῶ σε.

ἀντιστόμαχε paraît un pur « babbling » comme *An. Ath.*, 119. 14 s.: ἡ δυσουρία ἢ τρισουρία ἢ ἔσοχάδες ἢ ἐξοχάδες, où une maladie réelle (δυσουρία, ἔσοχάδες) est chaque fois suivie d'un nom de fantaisie (δισ—τρис, ἔσο—ἐξο). ἐπίωκες est un barbarisme, soit pour le parfait (formé sur ἔγνωκα ?), soit pour l'aoriste. On notera que στόμαχος a pris la place ici de ἀστέρα, ce qui confirme ἀστέρα = (γ)αστέρα. Comme dans ce dernier cas, l'organe est pris pour le mal qui l'affecte. Je traduirais donc: « Estomac, estomac, comme tu as mangé le sang, comme tu as bu le sang, ainsi je te lie (par mon incantation). »

Une autre formule citée par Bonner (p. 217) porte:

β) ὅστέρα μελανή μελανομένη, ὡς ὄφεις εἰλύεσαι καὶ ὡς λέων βρυχᾶσαι, καὶ ὡς ἄρμιον κοιμοῦ = « Matrice⁴² noire, noirissante, tu t'enroules comme un serpent, tu rugis comme un lion: eh bien dors comme un agneau. »

5. Signalons enfin le mot πίνω qui accompagne régulièrement le revers de cer-

taines amulettes au cavalier: ce revers offre l'image d'un oiseau, autruche, ibis, grue, prêt à dévorer un serpent (*MA*, pp. 212 ss.). L'oiseau est lié par une corde à un autel, comme sur un autre type d'amulettes digestives (*MA*, pp. 51 ss.).

Résumons ces données. Un démon qui boit le sang (Nos. 1-3, 4 a, peut-être 5) et qui est cause de la colique (Nos. 1-3), ou des maux d'estomac (No. 4a), ou des maux de la matrice (No. 4b), est symbolisé par un serpent (Nos. 1-3): on se rappelle la lamie serpent du récit de Philostrate (4. 25). Pour éloigner du malade ce serpent, on l'apaise par une offrande de lait et de miel (No. 1), on le lie (No. 3, peut-être 4a), on l'invite à se coucher doux comme l'agneau (No. 4b). C'est de même un serpent que montre le revers No. 5 où l'oiseau dévore le serpent. J'attribuerais au démon-serpent l'inscription πίνω qui décore le champ: c'est lui qui boit le sang. L'idée de lien est marquée par la cordelette qui attache l'oiseau, à contretemps d'ailleurs puisque le κατάδεσμος concerne le serpent: il se peut aussi que ce détail ait été simplement emprunté à d'autres amulettes digestives. De toute manière, c'est dans la série des amulettes digestives que je placerais ce type de revers.

Il est temps de revenir à l'amulette de M. Seyrig qui nous a servi de point de départ (*MA*, pp. 87 ss.). L'avvers, comme j'ai dit, est presque entièrement occupé par l'inscription indéfiniment répétée: c'est donc cette inscription—διψᾷς, Τάνταλε; αἷμα πλε—qui compte avant tout. La soif de Tantale est proverbiale:⁴³ on rappelle donc sa légende en dénommant de ce nom le démon buveur de sang. D'autre part, Tantale est le type de l'homme assoiffé qui ne peut boire. L'impératif αἷμα πλε est donc ironique. « Tu as soif, Tantale? Eh bien, bois ce sang. » On sait bien que le démon Tantale ne boira pas ce

sang. Ainsi cette amulette entre-t-elle aussi dans la catégorie des amulettes préservatives. Elle préserve contre les maux d'entrailles.

Ce démon, dans nos textes, est un serpent. Précisément deux serpents sont représentés au revers, tendant le cou vers l'orifice d'un vase, évidemment pour y boire. Or il y a lieu ici de faire une remarque. Γαστέρα est le ventre, d'où le mal de ventre. Mais γαστέρα ou γάστρα est aussi le vase « ventru, » en forme de ventre.⁴⁴ Il peut être plus ou moins ventru; Du Cange donne les équivalents *ampulla*, *guttulus*, *phiala*, *λήκυθος*, *φιάλη*. Le nôtre (D. 144) ne l'est pas exagérément, mais il répond à la définition. Je ne veux pas pousser plus loin la comparaison et considérer si, par exemple, les lignes incurvées sur la panse du vase ne figurent pas, grosso modo, les plis du ventre: on trouve des lignes semblables sur le ventre de l'Aképhalos, *P. Oslo*, I, Pl. II. Quoi qu'il en soit, le symbole paraît assez clair: deux serpents assoiffés, gueule ouverte, se tendent vers un vase-ventre (γαστέρα, γάστρα). Ce revers est le pendant d'une inscription relative au démon assoiffé qui boit le sang. Les textes cités induisent à y reconnaître le démon de la (γ)αστέρα = colique.

Quelques notules pour finir.

Pp. 216 s.—La mystérieuse formule, *λύκος πεινῶν[ων] ἐβόσκειτο· πίνω ὕδωρ, διψῶ, ἄρτον φάγω (πινωνων, ἐβωσκειτο, φάω: corr. C. Bonner),* rappelle Babrius 14 (16). 6: αὐτὸς δὲ (scil. ὁ λύκος) πεινῶν καὶ λύκος χανῶν ὄντως ἀπῆλθε. Existe-t-il un lien entre cette formule et celle de la p. 182: ὕδωρ διψῃ, ἄρτος πείνῃ, πῦρ ρείγῃ (l. ρίγῃ)? Je dois avouer que ces deux formules me paraissent aussi étranges l'une que l'autre, et soupçonne qu'elles sont toutes deux des corruptions d'un même modèle qui reste à trouver.

P. 223 (D. 335).—L'objet situé au dessous de S. Léontius paraît être un gril, et le vêtement du saint ressemble fortement à une dalmatique. N'était l'inscription ἀγίε Λέοντι, on penserait d'emblée au diacre Laurent. Il est possible que le graveur se soit inspiré d'une représentation de ce dernier saint. Au surplus, d'autres martyrs ont été mis sur le gril.⁴⁵

P. 293 (D. 245).—Cynocéphale en adoration. Dans le champ Τααυ. Le cynocéphale est l'animal sacré de Thoth-Hermès, et Bonner a donc conjecturé une corruption de Θαυτ. Cette conjecture me paraît juste, et il ne s'agit même pas d'une corruption, mais d'une variante: cf. Philon de Byblos *ap. Eusèbe Pr. ev.* 1. 9. 24: ὁ Σαγχοιναῖος ... φροντιστικῶς πολλὴν ἐξεμάστευσεν τὰ Τααύτου, εἰδὼς ὅτι τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίω γεγονότων πρῶτός ἐστι Τάαντος ὁ τῶν γραμμάτων τὴν εὐρεσιν ἐπινοήσας κτλ. Le mot Thoth, sous diverses formes, se retrouve en d'autres amulettes: Θαυτ Ψαε (p. 245), Θωθ εν Θωθ (D. 247, p. 294), peut-être εθωυθ (D. 281, p. 300). C'est le plus souvent une simple *vox magica*.

Pp. 295 s. (D. 254 et 256).—Le dieu panthée D. 256 porte très visiblement des genouillères en forme de tête d'animal (lion, semble-t-il): « Knees and feet in shape of heads of animals. » Je reconnais le même trait en D. 254 où Bonner écrit: « tufts on knees. » C'est là une marque caractéristique du dieu panthée: le musée du Louvre possède plusieurs statuettes du Panthée où ces genouillères sont très apparentes. On comparera aussi le Chronos léontocéphale de Castel Gandolfo publié par Pettazzoni (*Ant. Class.*, XVIII [1949], 265 ss., Pl. III, Fig. 5); je reviendrai sur ce point dans un article de la *Revue Egyptologique* (1951: en collaboration avec M. Vandier).

NOTES

1. Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (« University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, » Vol. XLIX.) Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1950. Pp. xxiv + 334 + 25 pls. \$12.50—cité ici *MA*. Autres abréviations: D et no. = Description des figures, par numéro; *CCAG* = *Catalogus cod. astrol. graec.*, par volume, page et ligne; *PGM* = *Papyri graecae magicae*, par numéro et ligne; *RHT* = *ma Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, t. I^{er} (Astrologie et sciences occultes), 1950; *HTR* = *Harvard Theological Review*; les autres abréviations sont courantes. J'ai plaisir à remercier les Professeurs Louis Roussel (Montpellier), J. W. Wazink et B. A. van Groningen (Leiden), et Mlle S. Antoniadis (Leiden) pour de précieuses observations.

2. *MA* a d'ailleurs été préparé par de nombreux articles, v. gr. *HTR*, XX (1927), 171 ss., XXV (1932), 362 ss., XXXIII (1940), 317 ss., XXXIV (1941), 49 ss., XXXV (1942), 1 ss., 87 ss., XXXVI (1943), 39 ss., XXXVII (1944), 333 ss., XXXIX (1946), 25 ss., XLI (1948), 213 ss., XLIII (1950), 165 ss.; *AJA*, XLIX (1945), 441 ss., LIII (1949), 217 ss.; *AJP*, LXX (1949), 1 ss.; *Byz.*, XVI (1942/3), 142 ss.; *Hesperia*, XV (1946), 51 ss.; *PAPS*, LXXXV (1941), 84 ss., 466 ss.; *Quantulacumque*, *Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* (1937), pp. 1 ss.

3. Cf. mon *Epicure et ses dieux* (Paris, 1946), p. 68.

4. Sauf que, ici, c'est Eros qui brûle Psyché, au contraire d'Apulée (5. 23): mais Psyché est elle-même enflammée d'amour: *tunc magis magique cupidine fragrans Cupidinis*. Aphrodite *ἑκπύρι καθύμνη ἐν Ψυχῇ* rappelle les mauvais traitements de 6. 9 ss. Sur la banalité du type d'Eros et Psyché dans l'art profane, cf. A. D. Nock, *AJA*, L (1946), 149, n. 38.

5. L'auteur met en doute, avec raison je crois, l'origine mithriaque du type au lion. La qualité « solaire » du lion est bien connue. Certaines représentations, avec étoiles dans le champ, ont une étrange ressemblance avec le lion « zodiacal » d'Antiochus de Commagène (cf. Cumont, *Rel. or.*, p. 115, Fig. 8). Ainsi D.74 a, comme le lion d'Antiochus, deux étoiles au dessus de la croupe (le lion d'Antiochus en a une troisième près de la crinière), une étoile au dessus de sa patte antérieure la plus avancée. On ne voit pas, sur la reproduction (Pl. IV), que le lion tienne quelque chose sous sa patte d'avant, crâne de bœuf ou quoi que ce soit. Quant à ce dernier type (*MA*, p. 36), je rappelle la fresque d'Ostie; cf. G. Calza, *Bull. archeol. comun.*, LXIV (1936) p. 11 et tav. agg. (face p. 10). Fresque trouvée dans une tombe de la zone sépulcrale sur la Via Laurentina à Ostie. Deux registres. En bas, scènes du Nil: de gauche à droite, oie, pygmée chevauchant une oie, deux pygmées dans une barque, crocodile; entre ces sujets, touffes de papyrus. Au dessus: lion, corps vu de trois quarts s'avancant vers la gauche, tête de face; les yeux sont fixes, la gueule entr'ouverte et montrant les dents; l'auteur a voulu donner une impression de férocité. Entre les pattes de devant, le lion tient une tête de bœuf encore saignante, dont la corne de gauche a été arrachée et gît à terre. Calza n'indique pas en quelle tombe se trouvait la fresque, mais note (pp. 9 ss.) que cette zone sépulcrale a contenu surtout des affranchis

d'origine orientale: les inscriptions nomment un Marcus Baenit, sans doute syrien, un affranchi d'Antioche, un autre pamphylien, un Achiba (et un Aciba), une Sabbatis (cf. p. 10). La fresque est aujourd'hui au Musée d'Ostie; cf. R. Calza, *Museo Ostiense* (Rome, 1947), No. 142.

6. Au revers aussi, le mot magique *νειαροπλήξ* (p. 35), qui apparaît encore au revers d'une autre tauroktonia (p. 34) sous la forme *νειαροπλήξ*, et dans d'autres connexions (p. 118: *νειαροπλήξ*, pp. 201, 245). Le mot semble être un des nombreux composés en *-πλήξ* (44 dans Buck-Petersen), qui comportent sens actif (*δουπλήξ*) et sens passif (= *-πληκτος*, cf. *κεραυοπλήξ*, *θυροπλήξ*, etc.). Mais que faire de *νιχαρο-* (ou *νικαρο-*)?

7. Ou encore il se peut qu'une pierre, originellement mithriaque, ait été utilisée ensuite à d'autres fins, comme dans le cas que signale *MA*, p. 38 (à propos de pp. 33 s. et n. 55): « Some objects that are primarily Mithraic have had added to them elements that are derived from the religion and magic of Egypt. »

8. Quelques vêtiles. P.15: A propos de la *καθάρσις* des statues de culte à l'âge classique, cf. surtout *Syll.* 695, *Isistéria* de la statue d'Artémis Leukophryênê. Certes il n'y a là rien de magique. Mais la Grèce archaïque a connu des vivantes vivantes qu'on liait pour les garder sur place, v. gr. Ch. Picard, *Man. arch. gr.*, La sculpture, I (Paris, 1935), pp. 47 s., 85 ss. Ces antiques *zoana* paraissent chargés de vertu magique et il est possible que certaines cérémonies aient eu le sens d'une *ἀφίρωσις*. Noter que de très anciennes idoles cyclopiques portent déjà une amulette, cf. W. Vollgraff, *Mél. Picard* (Paris, 1949), II 1074 ss.—Pp. 51 ss.: renvoyer à D.77-82.—P.57: sur la planche, on lit bien *σοφορ* en D.100.—P.60: l'objet ovoïde en D.103 ne pourrait-il être une flamme? Le phénix renaît de ses cendres. A propos du symbolisme du phénix (*MA*, Add., p. 324), ajouter J. Hubaux-M. Leroy, *Le mythe du Phénix dans les littératures grecque et latine* (Liège, 1939) et ma note *Mon. Piot*, XXVIII (1941), 147 ss.—P.90, l. 2: renvoyer à D.139.—P.99, dernier paragraphe: renvoyer à D.300 ss.—Pp.125 ss., sur le coq: cf. F. Cumont, *CRAI*, 1942, pp. 284 ss.; 1943, pp. 123 ss. Le caractère gnostique de l'anguipède à tête de coq me paraît très douteux: cf. les justes remarques pp. 130 ss. et 152 s. sur le syncrétisme d'un type solaire et de Set-Typhon.—P.128, deuxième paragraphe: renvoyer à D.180.—P.168: sur Brimo, cf. *PGM*, IV. 2611 et la note de Wunsch *ad. loc.* (*Kl. Texte*, p. 84).—P.177: sur la formule *τὸν θεὸν σοὶ πλῆξ*, cf. surtout A. Wilhelm, *Sitz. Berl.*, XXVII (1932), 58 ss.—P.219, n. 47: lire D.324 (non 321).—P.220, n. 49: renvoyer à D.325.

9. Solt l'adj. fém. *πῆρα* se rapportant à *σαῖρα* = « (le lézard est) aveugle », soit un substantif inconnu (manque dans LSJ) *πῆρα* = *πῆρωσις* = « cécité. »

10. P. 198, le mot est traité comme une *vox magica*. Manque dans *PGM*.

11. « A little scene that seems to be as far removed from magic as possible », écrit Bonner, p. 71.

12. En revanche je n'ai rien trouvé dans les mélotés planétaires, dont voici un compendium: Ptol. *Tétr.* 148. 15 (Boll-Boer): τὸν κυριωτάτων τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μερῶν δὲ μὲν τοῦ Κρόνου κύριός ἐστιν ἀκούειν τε θεῶν καὶ ἀσθεῖας καὶ κίστεως καὶ φλέγματος καὶ ὀστέων; Porph. *Isag.* (CCAG, V, 4, 217.7): τῶν μὲν ἐντὸς Κρόνου τὴν φλεγματοῦ ὑγρότητα καὶ βρόγχου καὶ λύσιν ἐντέρων (sc. κεκλήρωται); Antiochus d'Athènes (CCAG, VIII, 3, 113. 11): Κρόνῳ μὲν τὴν φλεγματοῦ οὐσίαν καὶ βρόγχου καὶ ἑντέρα ἀνατίσσειν; Ps. Gal. *De decubitu* (cf. Cumont, *Bull. Inst. hist. belge de Rome*, XV [1935], 126. 6: d'après le Laurent. XXVIII, 34, s.X: l'auteur serait le fabuleux magicien Jambres; cf. S. Weinstock, *Class. Qu.*, XLII [1948], 41 ss.) Φαίλων μὲν φλέγμα καὶ τὴν ἐντέθειν ὑγρότητα καὶ γόνον καὶ λύσιν ἐντέρων. En somme, «Saturne a... tout ce qui est humide ou dur, avec mélange de froid,» Bouché-Leclercq, *Astr. gr.*, p. 321.

13. Cf. ma *RHT*, I, 146 ss.

14. Sauf (pour les plantes planétaires) CCAG, VIII, 2, 163. 19 (héliotrope), de caractère moins médical que magique, cf. *RHT*, I, 152 ss.

15. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Astr. gr.*, pp. 93 ss. Noter au surplus que le Kronos de la mythologie a été enchaîné par son fils Zeus (Esch. *Eum.* 630), et que les anciens déjà ont mis ces chaînes de Kronos en rapport avec la lenteur et la quasi immobilité de la planète Saturne: cf. Roscher, s.v. "Kronos" 1467.

16. La traduction de LSJ «of right measure or proportion» contredit au sens de *ὅπερ* dans ces sortes de composés.

17. Cf. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 153: «nach Abschluss der Ernte.» Voir aussi Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.*, pp. 481 ss. Voir par ailleurs le culte de *Saturnus Frugifer* en Afrique, P.-W., VII, 121, s.v. «Frugifer» (Wisowa). Arnobe 6. 10 (318.14 M.) parle d'un *Frugiferius* à tête de lion qui est peut-être ce Kronos africain.

18. Deubner, p. 154.

19. Cf. Nilsson, *loc. cit.*, p. 74, qui cite S. Eitrem, «Kronos in der Magie», *Mél. Bidez*, pp. 351 ss. Voir aussi A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I (1927), index, s.v. Κρόνος.

20. Que cette représentation du moissonneur sur les gemmes ressemble beaucoup au revers de certaines monnaies alexandrines (*MA*, p. 74) ne change rien au fond du problème. Comme dans le cas d'Eole (*ibid.*, p. 66), le graveur a pu utiliser un type connu et l'interpréter autrement. Noter au surplus que Saturne porteur de la faux a pu donner l'idée de Saturne moissonneur (*vitator falxifer* [Arnob. 3.29, p. 187.19 Marchesi], *falx messoria* ... *quae est attributa Saturno* [O. 25, p. 339. 10]). Monnaies romaines de Saturne à la faux: E. Babelon, *Description ... des monnaies de la Rép. Rom.*, I, Nos. 228, 389; II, Nos. 188, 214, 216, 254.

21. Berytus, I (1934), 3-4.

22. Plus exactement, je ne crois pas que les serpents du revers soient nécessairement des *dispaedae*, et qu'il faille donc lire *δυσπας* *Τάυτα* à l'avère. Sous cette réserve, il y a, semble-t-il, un lien entre ces serpents assoiffés et la formule *δυσπας, Τάυτα*, etc.

23. Je cite d'après Delatte, *Anecd. Athen.*, I, 211 ss. (recension du cod. *Atheniensis*, Bibl. Nat. 2011).

24. Cod. Athen. Bibl. du Sénat, 124, fol. 275^v. Titre, Πῶς τὰ γράμματα 'Ἀστέρη' διὰ μικρὰ παιδία. Le verbe γράφειν = ici γράφειν (φυλακτήριον) ποιεῖν. Je reviendrai sur *ἀστέρα* «colique» selon Delatte. Donc: «Comment faire l'amulette 'Colique' pour les petits enfants.»

25. Ou «noirâtre (brune).» De μελανός (oxyton!).

26. Soit de μελάνω (en ce cas μελανομένη comme dans le parallèle No. 4b), soit de μελανῶ (en ce cas 1. μελανομένη). Mais à vrai dire je doute que le mot ait à être analysé et traduit: il ne s'agit probablement que d'une suite de syllabes assonancées.

27. Même sens que συγκυλίσεις 553.4. Le Prof. Louis Roussel (Montpellier) veut bien m'écrire: «συντελέσεις est, sans difficulté, ce qui serait en grec d'aujourd'hui συντυλίγεσαι (συντυλίγομαι, συντυλίγεσαι). Τυλίγω = 'enrouler.' Donc 'Tu te roules dans' (moyen réfléchi).»

28. Au vrai, cette forme *ἀστέρα* paraît obscure. Mlle S. Antoniadis a bien voulu me signaler le texte suivant (N. G. Politis, *Laographia*, I, 388):

Μάννα, τὰ πόδια μου πονῶ, μάννα, τὴν κεφαλὴ μου, Μάννα, κ' *ἀστέρα* μὲ κρατεῖ καὶ θὲ πὰ τὰ πὰ πίσω avec la note de l'éditeur: Ἐγγυόντες τινες τὴν ἐν ἐπιγραφαῖς βυζαντινῶν καὶ εὐαγγελικῶν φυλακτηρίων λέξιν *ἀστέρα* ἐνέμισαν ὅτι σημαίνει ὑστερικὴ ἢ γαστρικὴ νόσος, οὐκ ὀρθῶς, ὡς φρονῶ, διότι αἱ ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκείναι τῶν περιάπτων, περὶ ὧν πολλὰ ἐδημοσιεύθησαν ὑπὸ Ρώσων βυζαντινολόγων καὶ ἀρχαιολόγων, ἐρμηνεύονται ἐκ τῶν ἀστρολογικῶν δοξασιῶν τῶν μέσων χρόνων, τῆς ὕστερας σημαίνουσας τὸν ὀπίσθιον *ἀστέρα*, τὸν νομιζόμενον πρόξενον μεγάλων κακῶν.

29. Ici sans doute de (γ)αστήρ. Ou = (γ)αστίρα?

30. D'après le Parisinus gr. 2316, f. 370^v. Titre, Περὶ τῆς *ἀστέρας*. Delatte corrige νίμων ἐν δεσμῶν, mais cf. gr. mod. νίμα (νέ) = «fil.» συγκυλίσεις ἐπ' ἐκείν, Del.; συγκυλίσεις αὐτοῦ, cod.

31. Comme il s'agit d'une feuille qui doit être pulvérisée et avalée par le malade, la fin du mot doit sûrement, je crois, se lire -χάρτιν. Pour le début, le Prof. L. Roussel me propose, sous toutes réserves *μολυχο-*, donc *μολυχοχάρτιν* «feuille de mauve.» Dans une prescription analogue (*An. Ath.*, 77. 6), on a *ροκοχάρτιν* = «feuille de roquette (salade).»

32. Faux ou faucille, cf. la harpe du moissonneur et de Persée: c'est la même idée. Il s'agit du Zacharie père de S. Jean Baptiste puisqu'on mentionne ensuite les boucles (πλάκται) d'Elisabeth.

33. D'après le cod. Erlangensis 93, f. 18. Le texte étant suivi d'un *ouroboros* (comme notre No. 1), Boll a vu dans *ἀστέρα* le vocatif de *ἀστέρης* (δ) = «astre,» et dans le serpent figuré le Dragon des astrologues byzantins et arabes, c'est à dire les nœuds ascendant et descendant de l'orbite lunaire, qui font le tour de l'écliptique en dix-huit ans: cf. Boll, *loc. cit.*, pp. 244 ad 5, 123 ad 1, et Bouché-Leclercq, *Astrol. gr.*, pp. 122 s. En raison des parallèles, il me paraît plus sage de comprendre *ἀστέρα* = (γ)αστίρα.

34. μελανὲ μελανομένη αἵματος cod., correx.

35. ἑμα πινει ... πίνους cod., corr. Boll.

36. De (γ)αστήρ? Cf. *europa* n. 29. Il faudrait le féminin.

37. Cf. Philostr., *V. Ap. T.* 4. 25 τὰ γὰρ καλὰ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ εἰς σιττεῖσθαι ἐνέμειν. Pour la suite ἀλλὰ ἀρκίζω σε, cf. notre No. 2.

38. Une circonvolution à l'intérieur du cercle extérieur. Cf. le démon Alextephas εἰλοόμενον καὶ ὥσει κόχλον *supra*. Peut-être aussi l'ouroboros(?) du No. 1: Delatte ne précise pas.

39. δένο καὶ ἀποδένο cod., correxi: δὲν δονῶ καὶ ἀποδίνῶ Boll.

40. εἰδωμένως cod., corr. Boll.

41. *MA* p. 217, d'après le P. Mouterde, cf. *ibid.*, n. 49.

42. Il serait facile de corriger en ἀστέρα. Mais, comme nous avons vu la variante στόμαχε, il est plausible d'admettre aussi la variante δστέρα. La même formule a pu être employée pour divers organes, étant toujours maintenue l'équivalence « organe = maladie de l'organe. »

43. Cf., dans le récit de Philostrate (4. 25): τοὺς Ταντάλου ἀήκοντες, ἔφη (Apollonius), εἶδεν, ὡς δυντες οὐκ εἶσι; Tantale est victime d'un mirage: dans sa soif, il croit voir des fruits, qui en réalité n'existent pas.

44. Cf. LSJ, s.v. γάστρα, II, Du Cange, *Lexicon ... infirmas gracilatis*, s.v. γάστρα (γαστέρα).

45. Cf. dom Leclercq, *Dict. arch. chrét.*, s.v. « Gril. »

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF PLUTARCH MORALIA 548A-612B

B. EINARSON AND P. DE LACY

IN PREPARING for the Loeb Classical Library the seventh volume of Plutarch's *Moralia*, which is to contain the *De sera numinis vindicta*, *De fato*, *De genio Socratis*, *De exilio*, and *Consolatio ad uxorem*, we have collated photographs of all the MSS but N. We take pleasure in expressing our thanks to Professor Max Pohlenz for lending us photographs of M and the monk Irenaeus' collation of N;¹ to the custodians of the MSS for their courtesies; and to the University of Chicago and the Trustees of the Loeb Foundation for defraying expenses.

The text is cited by the page and section of Wytttenbach's margin, followed by the page and line of the latest Teubner edition.² We retain the sigla and other conventions of the Teubner editors, but use W^R (instead of Ricc.) for Riccardianus 45, and add the following superior letters to the sigla: c for a correction by the first hand; ac for the reading before such correction; t for a reading in the text; ras for one obtained by erasure; and s for the folios of X and J supplied by later hands. O indicates all MSS not expressly cited; the preferred reading is quoted first. In the section on the *De sera numinis vindicta* the Planudeans and Jxj W^{RWE} qflp are as a rule quoted only in passages pertinent to the discussion of these MSS. As it has not been always possible to distinguish hands, we use M² for corrections copied by a, M³ for the rest; W² for those copied by W^R, W³ for the rest; a² for those that reached vsA, a³ for the rest; and A² for all corrections in A, although most are apparently by the first hand. When underlined the siglum indi-

cates an ancestor of the MS it designates; when italicized a closely connected MS. For brevity the formulas of incertitude have often been omitted.

I. THE MSS OF THE *De sera numinis vindicta*

Forty-seven MSS of the *De sera numinis vindicta* are known to us. Three, I, ζ, and W^E, contain different sets of excerpts; one, Parisinus 2273, a fragment of eleven lines. The list follows.

a

- G Barberinus 182; 11th century. Of the ten or more correctors we can barely distinguish five. We follow Pohlenz in using G² for a corrector nearly contemporary with the original scribe; G⁴ for a hand of the 15th century; G³ for the rest.
- X Marcianus 250; 11th century. Folios 69-70 (ἔστι 555D 413.9—περὶ 557B 417.13) were supplied by X^a before 1402.
- t Urbinas 100; A.D. 1402.
- F Parisinus 1957; end of the 11th century. A folio has been cut away after 54^v (κολαζομένων 566E 441.1—παθὼν 567D 443.1).
- Z Marcianus 511; 14th century.
- I Bruxellensis 11360-63; 14th or early 15th century. It contains *inter alia* nine excerpts: καὶ 548C 395.14—ἦσαν 548F 396.15; ταῦτα 549B 397.5—ἐχουσα 550A 399.8; ἀλλὰ 550C 400.17—προσῆκον 551A 402.2; ὥσπερ 552F 407.1—μάρτιος 553A 407.7; τὶ 553C 407.24—αὐτῆς 553C 408.6; ἀλλὰ 553F 409.11—δυσαστροβεῖ 554F 411.21; ὥσπερ 555F 414.9—γέμουσαν 556A 414.15; εἰς 560F 426.11—ὕμιν 561B 427.6; ἐκείνο 562A 429.6—κόλασιν 562F 431.4.

- b₁**
- D Parisinus 1956; 11-12th century. Four folios (4, 181, 182, 5) of the dialogue are preserved: *κεκίνηκεν* 548C 395.10—*ὦν* 549D 398.2; *πρὸς* 550C 400.17—*γενεσιν* 551D 403.11; *τὸν* 553E 408.20—*τιμωρίας* 554E 411.12; *τὰ* 555F 414.7—*χρήμα* 556F 416.21 f.
- R Mazarinianus 4458; 14th century.
- y Vaticanus 1009; 14th century.
- K Vaticanus 1309; 14-15th century.
- S Vaticanus 264; 14th century.
- h Harleianus 5612; 15th century.
- k Laurentianus 80, 28; 15th century.
- i Laurentianus 56, 4; 15th century.

- b₂**
- N Moscuensis 502; formerly in the library of the Synod, now in the Historical Museum; 12th century. According to Pohlenz the passage *χρυσίου* 566F 441.12—*παθῶν* 567D 443.1 is omitted with no indication of a lacuna; according to Irenaeus the omission extends through *μὲν* 567F 443.11.
- M Moscuensis 501; formerly in the library of the Synod, now in the Historical Museum; 12th century.

The Planudeans (II)

- a Ambrosianus 859; A.D. 1294-95.
- v Urbinas 98; 14th century.
- s Vaticanus 1012; 14th century. It now begins with *ἐχοντας* 550F 401.17.
- B Parisinus 1675; 15th century.
- ε Matritensis 4690; 14th century.
- n Neapolitanus 350 III E 28; 15th century.
- A Parisinus 1671; A.D. 1296.
- γ Vaticanus 139; written shortly after A.
- σ Marcianus 248; A.D. 1455.
- β Vaticanus 1013; 14th century.
- κ Laurentianus 80, 5; 14th century.
- ν Vossianus 2; 15th century.
- E Parisinus 1672; written shortly after A.D. 1302.³
- V Marcianus 427; 14th century. A folio has been lost after 19* (*καὶ* 565B 436.16—*πρὸς* 566F 441.6).
- v Vindobonensis Philos. Gr. 46; 15th century.

- ζ Excerpts in Scorialensis X I 13 (291^v-292^r); 14th century.
- Y Marcianus 249; 11-12th century.
- J Ambrosianus 881; 13th century. Folios 27 and 30 (*-διδως* 558F 421.13—*ἀφθάρτους* 560B 424.23 and *χρηστὸς* 562F 430.25—*περι-* 564B 434.8) have been supplied from s by J^a.
- x Parisinus 2076; 15th century.
- j Oxoniensis Collegii Novi 273; 15th century.
- C Parisinus 1955; 11-12th century.
- W Vindobonensis Philos. Gr. 129; 11-12th century. The missing folios (cf. *PM*, III, 394 n.) can be supplied from W^R.
- W^R Riccardianus 45; 12th century.
- W^E Excerpts in W (249^v-251^r); 14th century.

qflp (θ)

- q Vaticanus 1010; 14th century.
- f Laurentianus (Conventi Soppressi 26); 14th century.
- l Laurentianus 56, 5; 14th century. The word *ἐλλήνων* 552D 406.2 has been partly erased and the passage about Nero deleted (*ἐν ταύταις* 567F 443.14—*ἐλλάδα* 568A 444.5).
- p Vaticanus Palatinus 178; 15th century.
- Parisinus 2273; 15th century. It contains the words *οὐθὲν* 552C 405.10—*ἀποδίδωσιν* 552D 405.24. It could derive from V or any Planudean except Bnβ.
- Two MSS, Monacensis 173 and Riccardianus 49, are derived from the Aldine, doubtless from copies with manuscript variants.⁴ Thus an appendix of the Greco-Latin edition of the *Moralia* (Frankfort, 1599) contains variants taken from Turnebus', Vulecobius', and Bongarsius' copies of the Aldine (or conceivably of the Basel edition of 1542). Many of these variants are found in our two MSS; some are conjectures; others come from F and f.

The main stemma is tentative in certain portions; it must be tested by the relations observed between the same MSS in the rest of the *Moralia*. We have not made the test, needing for that purpose a complete collation.

As Pohlenz (*PM*, III, xi-xii) has pointed out, the MSS come from a medieval archetype. Most of its errors have been cleared away by the Byzantines, but enough remains to show that the words were separated and accented and that the MS was written in minuscules; see 565C 437.1 (p. 99 below) and 566B 415.4 (p. 104 below). The following traces of the accentuation of the archetype may be of interest:

553D 408.18 παίονα (παίωνα N) O; παίονα G²⁷ X³⁷ M¹ Y; παίωνα X¹ F¹ Z.

565B 436.15 πρόσπτυστον O; προσπτυστόν G¹ X F¹ hki (πρός πτυστόν N) M¹ Y.

At 558E 421.6 and 562C 429.16 f. (p. 99) F took readings from a MS not descended from the archetype; from F they reached X and RyKShki. Both readings involve uncial corruption and can so be traced; there may well be others. They may have been variants in the archetype; both, however, can be traced to F.

The MSS fall into two families: **a** (corresponding to Pohlenz' Γ: cf. *PM*, III, xii) and **b**. These are distinguished by accentuation (cf. 566D 440.11 on p. 102), mechanical errors, intrusive glosses, the spelling of names, the presence or absence of the article and in compound verbs of the preposition, the use of the present or aorist tense in infinitives and participles, and minor emendations. We quote a few: 549E 398.14 λόγῳ G XtS FK Z I A²βκν EB²⁷ν; λογισμῷ O.

551E 404.1 ἐγγεγονέναι (ἐγγεγογέναι K^{ao} v) O; ἐγεγονέναι G X¹ F¹ Z¹.

554B 410.4 μεταμελείας καὶ πάθη χαλεπὰ G Xt F Z I K Vv; π. χ. καὶ μ. (π. χ. μεταλλείας Ry) O.

554B 410.5 οὐδέν O; οἶθέν G Xt F Z I K Vv.

556A 414.19 μηδέν O; μηθέν G (X deest) F Z K k VvX^t.

556E 416.5 τυχόν O; τυχών G¹ (X deest) F¹ Z.

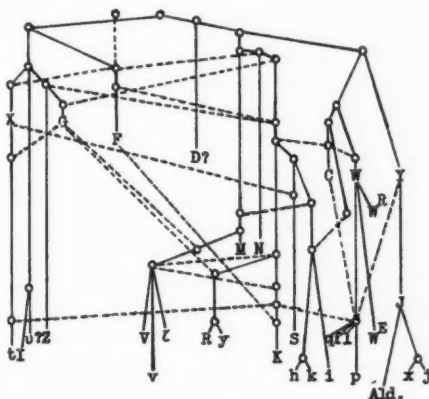
557A 417.5 λαμβάνειν Gt (X deest)S FK Z; λαβείν O.

557F 419.7 τοῦτο O; τοῦτον N M¹ Y¹J¹xj CWW^{R1}; ταῦτα hk¹i W^{R2}.

559A 421.23 γινόμενον O; γενόμενον hk¹i N M¹ v Y CW θ.

561A 426.19 εἰσι G XtS F Z I Ry Vv Y^{1mg} q^{2mgf1mg}; ἐστι O.

564A 433.20 ὥσπερ O; ὥσπερ οἱ G Xt F Z Ry K M² VvS².



DE SERA NUMINIS VINDICTA

564B 434.9 οὐδέν O; οἶθέν G Xt F Z K Vv.

565E 438.3 ταχὺ μὲν O; μὲν ταχὺ G X F.

566D 440.9 παρνασόν O; παρνασσόν G X FK.

567A 441.15 f. ὑποστρέφαι G XtC²S¹ (F deest) Z Ry K M² Y^{ao}; ἀποστρέφαι O (N deest).

a (G Xt F Z I)

G Xt F Z I generally have the text of the original of **a**, but all (except possibly I) have readings from **b**; again Ry K S hki M t Vv CW and Y^{1mg} have borrowings from **a**. A few unhappy conjectures appear in **a**:

548C 395.12 κατεφόρει O; κατεφρόνει G¹
X^{1mg} (ή κ.) C^{2mg} F^{1mg} (γρ ή κ.).

549B 397.11 πατροκλέα X^{1mg} O; πατρόκλεις
G X^{1t} F Z² I K V¹, 288v Y^{1mg}.

558C 420.11 προαπολείπειν X³ O (προα-
πολιπεῖν v¹; προαπολείπειν C²); προα-
πειλεῖν G¹ X¹ F^{1mg}? K Y^{17r}; προλείπειν
G² X^d(?).

F^{1mg} is here lost, but an index in F^{1t} shows that a marginal reading once existed; it can be inferred from K. Some reader of GXF took ἀπαυδᾶν in the same passage in the sense of "forbid" and made the conjecture; προλείπειν is an attempt to set it right. F^{1t} may have a borrowing from b.

G

G alone has the correct reading at
562A 429.1 δυσφήμιοι G; δυστήνοιο O.

It is probably a conjecture; only one other reading peculiar to G (557F 419.6 on p. 102) can be explained by uncial corruption; and that could better be explained by the influence of the context and the presence of uncial α and λ in minuscule. Other conjectures occur at 554B 410.3 (p. 98; here βιον is omitted); 560A 424.12 (n. 40); and

565F 438.11 ὕλη καὶ O; ὕλης G.

567A 441.15 καὶ δέος O; δέους G.

καὶ was dropped; emendation followed.

G may have borrowed from b₁:

552F 407.1 πντία O; πιντία G¹ X^{3t}S hki ζ.

558D 420.26 τοῦ θεοῦ O; θεοῦ G K hki¹
VvS² C.

G² may have used b₁: see 550F 401.15 f. (p. 98) and 558E 421.8 (p. 99). One of the correctors designated G³ used hki: see 566C-D 440.4 (p. 103) and note 46. G⁴ used XF: see 557B 417.15 and 559D 423.12 f. (p. 101).

In its non-Planudean readings Z often agrees with G: see 566B 439.7 (p. 100); 566F 441.13 (n. 36); and

563D 432.21 γινώσκουσιν ἕτερον (γ. ἐτέρων
Ry) O; γινώσκουσι G Z.

X

It is very difficult to distinguish in our photographs the shorter corrections of X^d from those of X³; we have been unable to identify Pohlenz' X². From X^d comes the note reproduced in PM, III, xiv. The monogram contains the letters T Φ Ν Σ Α ΕΩ, an anagram of Στεφάνω. Both X^d and X³ supply omissions; both evidently used a MS. X^d may have used G:

551C 403.4 ἡμαρτηκόσι Paton; ἡμαρτήμασι O; ἡμαρτήσασι G¹ X^d (X¹ deest); ἡμαρ-
τάνουσιν ἦκασι R; ἡμαρτάνουσιν ἡμασι γ.⁵

558A 419.19 γένος ὄντες ἀξιοῦτε καὶ C² (γ. ὁ. ἀξιοῦτέ καὶ X^{3t}); γένος (γένους G²) ὄντες ἀξίου τέ καὶ G^{1t} X^d?; γένος ὄντες ἀξίου καὶ O; γένους ὄντες (ὄντος K) ἀξίου καὶ F Z² Ry K S hki M²J³ Vv f²l². (In X τὲ is at the end of a line in an erasure—X¹ probably had καὶ; καὶ was added, apparently by X^d, at the beginning of the following line; X³ may have erased the acute and written the circumflex.)

565C 437.3 μόλις κακόνια δ' ἐνοῦσα Reiske; μόλις κακὸν οἷα δεινὸν οὔσα G X^dt¹SJ³ Z hki M¹ v (V deest) C (pro δ. οὔσα hab. δεινὸν οὔσα X¹; δινοῦσα F q¹p; δεινοῦσα f; ὠδίνουσα G^{3mg}t^{2mg}); μόλι κακὸν οἷα δει-
νοῦσα N; μοликаκὸν οἷα δεινοῦσα YJ¹; μολιακὸν οἷα δεινοῦσα W^o (ex δι-); μολια-
κὸν οἷα (οἷ K) ὠδινοῦσης Ry K² (ex ὠδίνουσα); μόλις κακόνια ὠδίνουσα M³ (cf. n. 32).

X³ is allied to b₁: see p. 98.

X¹F¹ share many marginalia; some also appear in Y¹ and a few in C¹W¹. In the margin at 553D 408.12 X¹F¹ have περὶ καλλιπνον; in the text F spells the name correctly; X has κάλιππον with G¹ (-ιπον) Z Mt V C¹W. At 553D 408.15 X¹F¹ have περὶ μιλίον in the margin; the text is as follows: Μίτνος L. Dindorf; μίτιος (τίμιος Ry^c [ex τάμειος]) O; μιλίον G^{4t} F Z K S M³ II (exc. a¹) Y^{3t} J². It is likely then that the marginalia of X¹ came from F; and

the same may hold of other readings where XF agree against GZI.

C² SJ³ all have their own readings of X as corrected; all at times agree with X and its correctors against the rest. J³ also has readings from X^a (p. 102). The text resulting from the readings of X and its correctors can hardly have had its like elsewhere. The source of C² SJ³ for these readings was therefore X or a descendant.

F

XF are closely related: compare 565C 437.1 (p. 99) and

549F 399.5 *θνητὸν* O; *θνητῶν* X¹ F t; *θνητῶ* Ry.

563F-564A 433.16 f. *πομφόλυγα*—*πομφόλυγος* O; *πομφόλυγα*—*πομφόλυγος* X¹ F. At the opening of the dialogue F¹ has the following note: *ζήτει πρὸ τοῦτου τοῦ λόγου περὶ τοῦ ἐ τοῦ ἐν δελφοῖς* (No. 68). *ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν ἐκκλειοπτῶν χρηστηρίων* (No. 69). *εἰθ οὕτως ἀναγνώσκειν τὸν προκείμενον λόγον* (No. 4).

G does not include 68, and 4 comes immediately before 69; F has the order 4 64 67-69; Z does not contain 68-69; I has the order 1 69 4 5-21.⁶ The order recommended is that of X and was probably that of FI.

F borrowed from b:

556D 415.25 *μὲν εἰ* G¹ (X deest) Z D Ry J³ ζ f^{1a} 1²; *μὲν ἦ* (μὲν ἢ G^{3ms}; μὲν ἦ N) O; *μὲν γὰρ εἰ* F; *μὲν οὐ s* J^{1xj}.⁷

559A 421.24 *τὸ κοινὸν ἦ* F^{1γρ} O; *τὸ κοινὸν* G¹; *τὴν κοινὸν* F^{1t}; *τῇ (?) κοινὸν ἦ* X¹; *τὴν κοινὴν* Z.⁸

Once F alone preserves the true reading; it may have come from a MS not descended from the archetype:

552F 406.21 *καὶ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ* F; *κακοὶ* O.

I

MS I agrees more closely with X than with G or F. It has not, like X, been influenced by F.

561A 426.22 f. *οὐδὲ λυπούσά που μάλλον* X^{d7t} C² R(του γ) Vv; *καὶ λυπούσά που μ.* X¹ F K S Y^{1γρ} J¹ (*λυπούσά που μάλλον* f^{1γρ}); *οὐδὲ λυπούσα μ.* I O.

Y^{1γρ} has here received two interpretations: f took *καὶ* with γρ, J as part of the variant. J's error was made by F, and from there reached X; X^d and Ry have *οὐδὲ* from relations of G; Vv have *που* from F through RyKShki; hki borrowed from G or C.

GXF

When XFZ agree against G and the rest, G borrowed from b; when XF agree against GI and the rest, XF have borrowed from a MS not descended from the archetype; when GZ agree against the rest, GZ conjectured. Compare 557B 417.15 and 559D 423.12 f. (p. 101); 561A 426.22 f., just quoted; and

554D 410.25 *μηθὲν* Xt F Z I K; *μηδέν* O.

558A 419.12 *ἀφελῶς* O; *φιλοκάλως* G^{4ms2} XC² S F^{1γρ} Ry K^{1γρ} Y^{1γρ}.

564D 435.4 f. *ἀμυδράν* Xt F Z K hki; *ἀμυδράν τινα* O.

When GX(Z) agree against F and the rest, F has borrowed:

551B 402.16 *πράγματος* O; *πραγμάτων* G¹ Xt.

555A 412.3 *γινόμενα* G X Z; *γινόμενα* (ex -αινα F³) O.

560E 426.7 *ψυχοπομπέιον* O; *ψυχοπόμπιον* G¹ X¹.

563F 433.11 *αἰγὴν* O; *αἰγὴν* F¹; *αἰγῆ* G¹ X¹; *αἰγὴ* Z¹.

GF rarely agree against X:

564E 435.20 *σώμασι* G F K; *σώματι* O.

b₁ (D Ry K S hki)

In b₁ (corresponding to Pohlenz' Σ: PM, I, xxx) there are two groups: D, to which X³ may be added, and RyKShki. The readings of RyKShki survive only in fragments; as will appear later, RyKShki descended from N and borrowed from DX³ and F. But borrowings by its

descendants have dislodged many of the inherited readings: Ry has borrowings from G; K from Vv and F; S from X and A; hki from GZ and C. On the other hand CW and MVv both borrowed from hki; and some readings of RyKShki survive only in the descendants of the borrowers.

At some time before C was written RyKShki borrowed from D:

548C 395.11 ἄνθρωπος l; ὁ ἄνθρωπος D Ry K; ἄνθρωπος O.

550F 401.14 ἀποπιπλάντας (varie scriptum) O; ἀποπιπλάντας D M^{1?} Vv.

554D 411.3 μετανάστασιν (ἐπανάστασιν t^{ac}) O; μετάστασιν D Ry i Vv.

556A 414.14 τὸ μέλλον (X deest) O; τὸ μέλλον μὲν D; μὲν τὸ μέλλον CW θ.

556D 415.18 μεταπτωτὸν D Ry; εἰμετάπτωτον O; ἀμετάπτωτον S; X deest.⁹

At times RyKShki emended the reading of N:

550D 401.2 ἀσπάξεσθαι G¹ X^{3?}t F D K N² VvS² Y²J¹; ἀσπάζεται X¹ Z I N¹ Y¹ W; ἀσπάζεται G^{4?} Ry hkⁱ MΠJ³ C; ἀρπάζεται S¹ γσκ²(γρ in A²β¹κ¹ν²E²B¹).

550F 401.15 f. καὶ τὴν D Αγσκ²βκνEJ³xj; τε καὶ G² Ry (τε καὶ τὴν t²); τὴν O (S deest).

554B 410.2 f. δεινὴ τις (δεινοῦ ἢ τις D; δεινότης Ry) οὕσα βίου (om. G) δημιουργὸς οἰκτροῦ καὶ F³ Ry hkⁱ W^{R2} C¹ (pro οἰκτροῦ καὶ hab. οἰκτροῦ θ; οἷκτου καὶ O [W deest]; οἷκτου K V¹v f²; οἷκτους καὶ X^{3?}t C²J²,³ Y²; οἷκτους D S^{ac} V³).¹⁰

X^{ras} and X³ (here doubtless the same) agree with D in two good conjectures and one bad:

554A 409.24 κακούργων X^{ras} D; τῶν κακούργων O.

554C 410.15 σηλυμβριανὸν Z K M Vv Y^{2?} θ (σι- F X¹ I Y¹ l^{ac?}); σηλυμβριανὸν G^{2?} X³tS D (σημβριανὸν Ry) Π C (σι- W^R; W deest); σηλυβρινὸν G¹; σηλυμβρινὸν hkⁱ.¹¹

554C 410.17 φησιν X^{ras} tJ^{3?} D; ὥς φησιν (ὥς φησιν G Ry K S k Vv C) O.

Elsewhere the conjectures of X³D are evidently connected:

550F 401.16 μετ' ἐμμελείας X³C²S¹J³; ἐμμελεία D; μεταμελεία (μεταμέλω Z) O.

551C 403.3 καὶ ἐν O; ἐν X^{ras} J³ K; ἔργον ἐν D.

551D 403.8 χρόνον (-ους Ry) γε O; χρόνον δίδοναι D; χρόνον γε δίδοναι πρὸς ἐπανάρθωσιν X³tC²J³.

For X³ Ry (D being lost) compare

561A 426.21 γενόμεναι O; γινόμεναι X³t Ry K S hki Vv.

567E 443.1 καὶ διώκουσα Turnebus; καὶ δοκούσα O; δοκούσαν X³tS¹J³ (καὶ δοκούσαν Ry K).

Two passages raise an interesting problem:

548D 395.23 f. τὸ ἀμύνασθαι (-εσθαι hkⁱ) τῷ παθεῖν O; τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τοῦ παθεῖν D Ry K^{1as} S^{2?}γρ.

551A 401.23 τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τοῦ παθεῖν G X F Z I v^{1?} ³ Ry K J^{1?}as θ; τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τῷ παθεῖν D; τοῦ ἀμύνασθαι τὸ παθεῖν O.

The phrase is quoted from Thucydides 3. 38. 1, who has τῷ παθεῖν; he does not use the article with the first infinitive. In the first passage of Plutarch, ἐγγυτάτω, which governs τοῦ παθεῖν, comes later in the sentence; in the second, it precedes τὸ ἀμύνασθαι. The temptation to let a genitive follow was strong; in the second passage R¹ and q¹ wrote τοῦ, but corrected themselves. Hence the genitive in the source of b, and the consequent emendation of τοῦ παθεῖν. D had τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τῷ παθεῖν in the first passage, τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τοῦ παθεῖν in the second. The similarity was noticed, and each passage was written down beside the other; they thus displace each other in D. D was either influenced by a or had a text unaffected by the corruption in b₂.

Ry

Ry are twins. RyKShki borrowed from F at 556 F 416.16 (p. 104); 558A

419.19 (p. 96); 566C-D 440.4 (p. 103); 567F 443.11 f. (p. 100); and

558E 421.6 τὸν (melius τὸ) ἡρόγγιον Turnebus; τὸν (τὸ i¹; τὴν C) ἡρυγγίτην O; τὸν ἡρύτην G^{4ms}; τὸν νηρύτην X¹ F R^{1ms} K^{1t} V^{2γρ.12}

562C 429.16 f. οἷον ἔλυτρὸν τι τὴν πανουργίαν nos; οἷον ἐαυτῇ τινὰ τὴν π. O; οἷον ἔλυτρὸν τι ἐαυτῇ τὴν π. F Z M^{2J3} I; οἷον ἔλυτρὸν τι τὴν π. ἐαυτῇ K Vv (ἐλλυτρὸν τι super ἐαυτῇ S²); οἷον ἐσθῆτα τινὰ τὴν π. ἐαυτῇ Ry; οἷον ἔλυτρὸν τι ἐαυτῇ τινὰ τὴν π. k² W^{R2} (ἐδυτρὸν q) f p; ἐπικάλυψιν οἷον ἐαυτῇ τινὰ τὴν π. X^{3t} C^{2S1}.¹³

562D 430.6 ἐν φωνῇ O; ἐν φανῇ F; ἐμφανῇ G² Ry K^{14t} V^{2γρ.}

565C 437.1 αἰμωπὸν G⁴⁷ Ry K; αἰμαπὸν X¹ F¹; αἰματωπὸν O.

(The archetype had αἰμαπὸν, a minuscule corruption of αἰμωπὸν; b emended.)

Ry borrowed from G:

551F 404.13 κτησάμενοι O; χρησάμενοι G¹ Ry.

557B 417.10 αὔλιαν G¹ R hkⁱ N¹ M¹; ναυλιαν O (X deest; ναυλείαν y^{ac}; ναυτίαν W^{ac}); ναυπλιαν Π (exc. a¹); ναυτιλίαν Vv X^s (-τη- t) S².¹⁴

557B 417.17 δία O; δι' G y.

560E 425.26 ἐπώνυμιον O; ἐπώνυμον G R hki.

565C 437.7 πέρας O; πέρας G¹ y¹.

The following reading was borrowed either by Ry from G, or by RyKShki from F, becoming lost in K through the influence of Vv, in S through that of A, and in hki through that of C:

560C 425.8 εἰθὺς G Xt F Z Ry; ἀεὶ O.

When C differs from YW it often agrees with Ry (or hki); compare 550D 401.2 (p. 98); 554B 410.3 (p. 98); 554E 411.8 (p. 101); and 558E 421.8 ἔχουσιν O; ἔχουσιν G² (-σι Ry C p^{ac7}).

In the following passage C had its reading from RyKShki; it was lost in Ry through the influence of G, in S through that of X or A, and in hki through that of GZ:

549F 399.4 ἔκλυσεν Klostermann; ἐκλυσεν O; ἐλυσεν K C.

RyN have a common ancestor:

552E 406.6 f. ἀναδείξει O; δεῖξει Ry N.

554A 409.22 ἐαυτῇ O; ἐν αὐτῇ F Ry K N (ἐν ἐαυτῇ S).

557B 417.12 f. βραγχιδῶν—διαφθείραντα om. Ry N.

559C 423.2 ἑτεροιοῦν (ἐταιριοιοῦν S) O; ἑτεροὶ οὖν (ἐτεροὶ γοῦν R) y K N.

Ry was badly written and full of abbreviations: Ry abound in confusions of μ and τ, of ωs and η, and of the various terminations. It had numerous glosses¹⁵ and emendations; thus at 562A 428.22 (p. 100) it emended a reading taken from G.

K

Ry K are closely allied: compare 550A 399.17 (p. 103) and

559E 423.15 νυσαίω O; μουσαίω Ry K^{1ms}.

506B 424.18 ἐπιμονήν O; ὑπομονήν R^{ac}.^{17γ} K.

An earlier ancestor of K borrowed from Vv (see p. 102); a later from F: compare 554D 410.25 (p. 97); 564E 435.20 (p. 97); and

552A 404.22 μεγάλη πόλει O; μεγαλοπόλει FK.

FK alone have the following subscription (the bracketed letters have been lost in F with a strip of the margin):

[περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ] θείου [βραδέως κολα]ζομένων.

The catalogue of Lamprias has (91) περὶ βραδέως κολαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου; the rest have no subscription or repeat the title as given at the opening of the dialogue, where all MSS (except t, where the title is left blank for the rubricator) have τιμωρουμένων instead of κολαζομένων. These readings might be explained as borrowings of RyKShki from F that have survived in K. But the evidence of t (p. 102) and θ (p. 105) shows that K had

readings from *Vv* that have been lost in *K*; and the new readings of *K* all agree with *F*.

S

For the connection of *S* with *Ry* and *K* compare 554A 409.22 (p. 99); 562E 430.18 (n. 36); and

552F 406.16 *κασάνδρω* (-σσ- *R*) *O*; *κασάνδρω* *K S*.

555A 412.8 *φάσματα* *O*; *φαντάσματα* *R^{ac} S¹*.

561A 426.23 *ἐαυτῶν* *O*; *αὐτῶν* (*αὐ-* *K^c*) *Ry K^{ac} S¹*.

568A 444.7 *διὰ φόβον* *O*; *διάφοβον* *Ry¹ S CW¹*.

For *S hki* compare

559B 422.10 *τήμερον* *O*; *σήμερον* *S hki¹*.¹⁶

565A 436.11 *διαλαβοῦσα* (*διαλαμβάνουσα* *G^{ac}*) *O*; *λαβοῦσα* *S¹ hki¹ v*.

S agrees with *v* or *Vv* at

550B 399.21 f. *τῶν προσταγμάτων* (*τὰ προστατάματα* *Kt*) *O*; *τῶν πραγμάτων* *S v*.

557A 417.4 *καλεῖν* *O* (*X deest*); *λαλεῖν* *S VvXst*.

S agrees with *t* at

556F 416.15 *ἀναιτίων* *O*; *ἐναντίων* *S t*.¹⁷

hki

The MSS *hki* have a common ancestor;¹⁸ *hk* are closer to each other than to *i*. Occasionally *k* or *i* retains a reading of *b₁*:

550D 401.1 *φερομένων* *O*; *φαινομένων* *Ry Kt i¹; γενομένων* *M¹ Vv*.

550F 401.14 *δίψαν ἢ πείναν* (*πεί-* *G F¹ I [πί- S] hi Y CW qf^{ac}*) *O*; *πείναν ἢ δίψαν* *Ry K k (πεί- K)*.

566E 441.2 *ἐτρέποντο* *O*; *ἐτράποντο* *Ry k¹*.

Z (which was more closely allied to *G* than *Z* is now, *Z* having received many Planudean readings) influenced *hki* (and *hki* influenced *WR²* and *C*): compare 564D 435.4 f. (p. 97) and

548B 395.2 *παρόντος καὶ μὴ* *O*; *om.* *G¹ hki¹*.

550A 399.9 *ψυχὴν* *G Xt F Z K hki¹ Vv; τὴν ψυχὴν* *O*.

553D 408.18 f. *ξεναγόν* *O*; *ξεναγωγόν* *Z hk*.

562A 428.22 *τ' ἀμφάνη* *Ruhnken; τὰμφανῇ* *K^{17a} (τ' ἀμφανῇ VvS^{2t}); τὸ ἀμφανῇ* *G¹ X^{1?} F¹ K^{1t} (τὸ [τὸν N²] ἀμφανεῖ N) M¹ YJ¹xj WWR¹; τὸ ἐμφανῇ* *Ry; τὸν ἀμφανῇ* *G² M²ΠJ³; τὸν ἀφανῇ* *F³ Z hki WR² C θ; τ' ἐκφανεῖ* *X³C² (τ' ἐκφανῇ S¹; τὸ ἀκφανεῖ M³)*.¹⁹

566B 439.7 *χιόνων* *O*; *χιόνος* *G Z hki*.

567F 443.11 f. *τὰ μὲν κολλώντων μέρη καὶ συνελανόντων, τὰ Pohlenz; τὰ μὲν ὄλων τῶν* (*pro ὄλων τῶν hab. ὅλα τὰ G hki¹ M¹*) *μέρη καὶ σ. τὰ X¹ N YJ¹ C¹WW¹(?); τῶν μὲν ὅλα τὰ (τῶν C) μέρη σ. τῶν (τὰ X³tC²S¹J³ Z Π [exc. a¹] xj) F Ry K VvS² WR²; τῶν μὲν ὅλα τὰ μέρη καὶ σ. τὰ M²a¹*.

See also 559D 423.12 f. (p. 101); 560E 425.26 (p. 99); 566B 439.9 (p. 104); and 566F 441.13 (n. 36).

That *hki*, after borrowing from *Z*, influenced *C* appears likely from 562A 428.22, just quoted, 565C 437.3 (p. 96), and

562F 431.6 *ἔδωκεν* *G X¹ F Z Ry K hki¹ CW q²f^{18a}p^{17ss}; ἔδωκαν* *O*.

If *C* was so influenced, the link between *Ry* and *C* at 554C 410.15 (p. 98), 554E 411.8 (p. 101), 556F 416.20 (p. 105), 558E 421.8 (p. 99), and 566D 440.5 (p. 103), between *K* and *C* at 549F 399.4 (p. 99), and between *D* and *CW* at 556A 414.14 (p. 98), was probably *hki*, just as *hki* was doubtless also the link between *C* and *Z* in the passages that follow:

555A 412.1 *ὑπολείποντος* *O*; *ἐπιλιπόντος* (*ὑπολίποντος* *S^{ac}*) *X³x; ἀπολείποντος* *Z C*.

557F 419.6 *δεῖ* *Gt X¹ F Z N CWW^R θ; δεῖ* *X^d O*.

560B 424.21 *τῷ* *O*; *τὸ* *G¹ X¹ F¹ Z v^{ac} C¹W¹ p¹*.

If this is so, a subsequent ancestor of *hki* must have borrowed from *b₂*. Two mixed readings show that *hki* was in its turn influenced by *C*:

565D 437.13 *καὶ διάθεσιν ἀναλαμβάνουσιν* *X³tC² (ἀπο- S¹)J³; καὶ διάθεσιν* *O*; *καὶ*

διάθεσιν ἔχουσι C¹ θ (-ιν G^{37as} [?]); ἔχουσι h(-ιν k¹)i.²⁰

566E 440.17 βέσβιον G^{27p} K N Y C¹W θ;

λέσβιον O; τελέσβιον hk¹i.²¹

The simplest solution is that hki borrowed from a MS closely related to C but not influenced by an earlier ancestor of hki. In the following passage we must suppose that C has now a reading taken from a remoter ancestor of hki, which had it from Z, while a later ancestor of hki emended a reading taken from a MS related to C but free from the influence of the earlier ancestor:

567B 442.5 ὑπούλους καὶ (πανούργους add. v) ποικίλους O; ὑπούλους καὶ ποικίλως G² X M^{a1} YJ¹xj (N deest); ὑπούλως καὶ ποικίλως hk¹i.

MVv borrowed from hki: compare 564B 434.10, quoted below; 565C 437.3 (p. 96); and

562D 430.10 καὶ τὸν O; καὶ hki M.

565B 436.18 f. τοσοῦτο . . . ὅσον G^{o1}; τοσοῦτῳ . . . ὅσον O; τοσοῦτῳ . . . ὅσῳ Z² hk MIt v (V deest).

b₂ (N MIt Vv³ YJxj CWW^{RWE} θ)

If we discount the influence of hki in MVv and CW and of conjectures in N and CW, NMYCW have substantially the text of the archetype of b. We have found no errors peculiar to NM, and assume provisionally that the two are closely related because of the following conjecture or survival:

565E 438.8 συστελλόμεναι Z N M t v (V deest); στελλόμεναι O.

If it is a survival, it does not prove any close tie between NM, and Y must have borrowed from a.

For conjectures in N compare 566D 440.9 (n. 43) and

564B 434.10 ἀλαλαγμοῖς X³tC²S R^o (ἀλλαλαγμοῖς R^oγ) J^{27t}, ^{27ss}; ἀλαλαγμοὶ O; ἀλαλαγμοὺς hki MJ³; -οῦ W; -ὄν K N Vv; ὀλολυγμοὶ I².²²

In one passage N has alone preserved, restored, or accidentally hit upon the correct spelling:

555A 412.4 κλυταιμήστρας N¹; κλυταιμνήστρας O.

The agreement of FN at 554A 409.22 (p. 99) and 566D 440.9 (n. 43) suggests that the MS of the b family that influenced F was allied to N.

M Vv³

M Vv with their dependents often agree against the rest: compare 550D 401.1 (p. 100); 556F 416.20 (p. 105); and 558B 420.5 f. (p. 105). There are two notable mixed readings in Vv:

554E 411.8 φάναι (φᾶναι X F Z i M Y) κολάζεσθαι O; φᾶν καὶ κ. N; τρυφᾶν καὶ κ. Ry C; φᾶναι (φᾶναι tS) τρυφᾶν καὶ κ. VvS²¹; φᾶναι τρυφᾶν ⁵.²³

555C 413.5 f. πλεύσας (πέμψας F K M^{27p}; ἐμβλέψας VS²; ἐπεμβλέψας v; ἐκπέμψας V^{2ss}) ἐπὶ τὸ ψυχοπομπέιον O; ἐπὶ τὸ ψ. πλεύσας W; ἐπὶ τὸ ψ. πέμψας C.²⁴

Vv borrowed from RyKShki; compare also

565C 437.6 τρεπούσης G²t² Z hki M²J³ f^{ao}; τροπούσης G¹ X¹ F³ (ex -ση) N M¹ Y¹ C¹W θ; στροβοῦσα X³C²S¹(?); στροβοῦσης t; τρέπουσα Ry K vS² (V deest); τερπούσης Y²J¹xj.

Vv also borrowed from G:

553E 409.4 νεοσιαν (-ίαν S) D O; νοσιαν G X¹ F (νοσιαν Z) hk¹ Vv.

555B 412.16 περιτρεχούσας O; τρεχούσας G VvS² (hki desunt).

557B 417.15 συρακοσίων W^{ao}; συρακουσίων O; συρακοσίων G⁴⁷ X¹ F; συρακουσίων G¹ X^{d2}tS Vv² p.

559D 423.12 f. συρακοσίων W; συρακουσίων G²⁷ O; συρακοσίων G⁴⁷ X¹ F; συρακουσίων G¹ X^{d2}tS hki Vv.

560E 426.3 προστροπαῖς Emperius; προτροπαῖς (-ῆς Z¹) O; τροπαῖς G Vv l.

Readings that in a are peculiar to F could have reached Vv through RyKShki:

compare 562C 429.16 f. (p. 99); 566C-D 440.4 (p. 103); and

556B 414.23 ἄλλον O (X deest); ἄλυνον F K VvX^sS²t.

It is conceivable that Vv and K borrowed independently:

566D 440.11 ἄλλα τέ (τὲ X³t) τινα καὶ S¹?J³; ἄλλα τινὰ G¹ X¹ (ἄλλὰ τινα M¹ [ἄλλὰ τινὰ N] Y W); ἄλλὰ τινα καὶ F^{3ss} Z Ry M² C θ (ἄλλα τινὰ καὶ G²? X^{d?} hki); ἄλλον τινὰ F¹ K (ἄλλόν τινα v; V deest); ἄλλόν τινα καὶ S².

It is easier, however, to suppose that Ry emended a reading taken from G.

K and Vv are connected by borrowing. That K was the borrower appears from the agreement of K M Vv against F and Ry: compare 550D 400.22 (n. 18) and the following mixed reading in K:

565F 438.14 οἶαν X³⁷tC² Z II (exc. av¹β¹⁷) v (V deest); οἶον O; οἶον ἂν K.

K derived readings from G through Vv: see 554D-E 411.8 (quoted below) and 551B 402.10 συναισθανόμενος O; συναισθόμενος G Kt Vv W θ.

In the following passage K could have borrowed either from v or F:

548E 396.6 τολμωμένοις O; γινομένοις G F¹¹ K v Y¹⁷J¹ f¹⁷.

Vvζ are closely allied (compare 554E 411.8 on p. 101); ζ took readings from G through variants in v:

552D 405.23 ἡ φύσις καρπὸν O; καρπὸν ἡ φύσις G vζ.

554D-E 411.8 καθειργγυμένους O; καθειργγμένους G K vζ.

555D 413.16 πού Gt² (X deest) F Z ζ; om. O.²⁵

S² used V. The following passages are of interest:

557F 419.6 πλῆθος O; πάθος G¹ S²t¹.

(Vv had the variant from G.) At 555C 413.6, where Plutarch tells of summoning a ghost, K'S² have a note: ἐλληνικὸν τὸ δόγμα μηδαμῶς δέχου. S² has a reply: δαίμων

προγνοὺς εἶρηκε τί καινὸν τόδε. K took the first verse from V.

X^s is a descendant (or more probably a copy) of V as corrected by V²; t and J^s come from X (as corrected) and X^s:

555D 413.18 αἰσθησις O; μάθησις VvX^st¹.

555E 413.23 ἐστέρημαι O; ὑστέρημαι VX^s.

556F 416.16 ἀναλαμβάνουσιν O; ἀντιλαμβάνουσιν Z V^{2ss}X^stJ³.

V as corrected by V² differs from X^s in only seven readings, one an emendation:

556F 416.21 f. τὸ δὲ χρῆμα O; τὰ δὲ χρήματα X^stJ³.

That t comes from X as corrected appears from 552E-F 406.15 f. (p. 104) and

566A 438.19 σεμέλην X³⁷ O; σελήνην X¹? I; σεμένην t.

Here the corrector of X distorted the λ to fill the erasure; the result looks like ν.

But at times t agrees with K or Vv against the rest:

549C 397.17 μῆ O; οὐ Kt.

549D 398.10 ἐρεστιν N Y¹ I (-ι O; ἐστι i; ἐνέστι W); ἐν τε Kt.

549E 398.19 οὖν O; μέν οὖν Vvt.

Compare also

563C 432.8 περῶσιν O; περῶνται hki; τηροῦσιν V²⁷rt.

We conclude that t borrowed from K, which had borrowed from Vv.²⁶

The Planudeans (II)

The Planudean MSS of the *Moralia* and the *Lives* record the editorial activity of Maximus Planudes.²⁷ Fourteen MSS belong to this group; to these can be added k². The earliest is α, assigned by Wendel (*op. cit.*, p. 413) to the years 1294-95. It is a copy of M²⁸ and the source of the rest.

Of the remaining thirteen *useB* derive independently from α,²⁹ ε is a copy of α,³⁰ J^s of s;³¹ and n is a copy or descendant of ε.³² A and E come from a copy of α. The paragraphing of α is followed, with

minor deviations, by s and A; γ follows the paragraphing of A; ν enBE either have no paragraphs or have divisions peculiar to themselves. MS γ is an early copy of A, taken before A had been fully revised;³³ κ and ν were taken from A after correction, and β descends from a third such independent copy.³⁴ MSS σ and k^2 derive independently from γ ³⁵ (σ through a lost intermediary, as it leaves blanks where γ is perfectly legible); and B shows the influence of E or its original.³⁶

A¹a at times agree against the rest;³⁷ but AE also agree at times against a.³⁸ A²E nearly always agree against a; once, however, A¹E do so (557A 416.23 in n. 36). In five readings A² and E¹ diverge (p. 104); in three of these A² agrees with X³. A was copied before most of the corrections in the original of AE had been made; these were later inserted from the original by A². In view of the three passages where A²X³ agree against E, and the evidence that A²E have been influenced by X and its correctors, we suppose that A² comes from a later stage of the original than E.

Three MSS, Z S t, have Planudean readings; a fourth, ν , has been so overwhelmed with them that its close relation to X, observed in other essays,³⁹ has left few traces in this.⁴⁰

Z derived readings from a through an ancestor of ν :

548A 394.5 *κνητέ* Patzig; *κύνιε* (*κύννιε* Z; *κώιε* i) O; *κύριε* S a¹A¹ Vv; *κύρνε* BenA² γσκ²βνEt (*κίρνε* κ; s deest); *κίρνε* ν .⁴¹

566B 439.8 δ' (*δὲ* S k Y²J¹ I²) *ἄλλαις βαφαῖς* X³tJ³ II (exc. a¹) v (V deest) W²; δ' *ἄλλαις μορφαῖς* ν Z; δ' *ἄλλαις βαφαῖς* O; δ' *ἄλλων βαφῶν* Ry.⁴²

567F 443.15 *νέρωνος* G Xt F K; *νέρωνος* (*ιέρωνος* hk¹; *κέρωνος* v; *κικέρωνος* Z) ψυχῆν O.

A recent ancestor of S was influenced by A¹, a remoter one by X and its cor-

rectors. S has the Planudean reading at 566B 439.10 (p. 104). For the source compare 548A 394.5, just quoted; 550D 401.2 (p. 98); and

550A 399.17 *μίνω* O; *μίνωα* i MII (exc. a¹A¹γ¹; *μένωα* σ) Vv; *μίνωα* Sh a¹A¹γ¹; om. k¹; *μίνω* καὶ Ry K.

A Planudean has also influenced t; it was probably allied to B:

566D 440.5 *ἐπίγνιον* O; *ἐπίγνον* G Ry K C q; *ὑπόγνιον* X³S; *ὑπόγνον* hk¹i M¹ v (V deest); *ἐπίγειον* B¹e²nk²t I².

566E 441.5 καὶ¹ O; οὐ καὶ A²γσκ²βνEBtJ³.

566F 441.14 *πεισόμενος* O; *πρσόμενος* B; *πυθόμενος* t.

J³ (and J³) is the hand of Ducas, editor of the Aldine. He first introduced readings from X as corrected and supplemented; he then borrowed Planudean readings, at times deleting his earlier borrowings.⁴³ He certainly used a or a lost descendant;⁴⁴ that he was influenced by another Planudean appears from his correction at 566E 441.5, just quoted.

The readings introduced by M², a¹, a², and A²E enable us to distinguish four stages of the Planudean edition.

One source of M² was C. M¹ dropped a line at 555D 413.14 f.;⁴⁵ in the supplement we find:

555D 413.14 ἐν O; ἀν M²II CW.

This reading and the variant at 555C 413.5 (p. 101), on the same page and in the same hand, could only have come from C or C. Compare also:

566C-D 440.4 οὐκέρ' οἶδα . . . εἰ κατιδεῖν ἔση Pohlenz; εἰ κάτοιδα . . . εἰ κατιδῆσσι G¹ (pro εἰ κατιδ. hab. εἰ κατιδῆ [κατιδεῖν X³] ἔσσι X¹; εἰ [ἦ M¹] κατιδῆσσι N M¹ YJ¹; lac. 9 lit. W, 7 lit. W^{R1}; οὐ κατιδεῖν ἔσσι F¹ K v [V deest; pro ἔσσι hab. ἔση Ry S²]; οὐδὲ κατιδεῖν ἔσσι G³ W^{R2}; οὐ κάτοιδα . . . οὐδὲ κατιδεῖν ἔσσι G³ W^{R2}; οὐ κάτοιδα . . . οὐδὲ (οὐ F) κατιδεῖν ἔσσι F³as hk¹i C θ (pro ἔσσι hab. ἔση Z M²ΠtJ³); εἰ κάτοιδα . . . οὐδὲ κατιδεῖν ἔση S¹ xj.⁴⁶

Another source of M^2 was F : compare 566D 440.9 (n. 43) and

552E-F 406.15 f. *ει περιανδρος εκολασθη μη μετα πολυν χρονον* G F Z K $M^2\PJ^3?$ Vv (*εκολασθη* om. X^1 ; add. post *χρόνον* in fine versus X^{47} ; post *χρόνον* habet et t): *ει μη π. εκ. μετα π. χ.* (χ. π. hki) O.

564A 434.5 *αυταις hi V^2 W lp (αυταις O); εαυταις G Xt F Z K M^2\P.*

In M^2 two conjectures appear for the first time:

549B 397.6 *επιχειρειν* S¹ $M^2\PJ^3$; *επιχαιρειν* O.

566B 439.10 *ανεφάνη χάσμα βαθύ* Kronenberg; *άφανής χλεμάβλου* G⁴ X F hki $M^1 Y^2 J^1?$ CW; *ά. χλεμβάλου* G¹; *άφανής* χε μαβλου N; *ά. χλεμαμβλου v* (V deest); *ά. χλεμάμβλου* Y¹; *άφανής* K; *ά. ην, ενιαχού* Ry; *ά. ην, δι' άμαυρού* I²; *άφανισθέντος* μάλλον Z S $M^2\PtJ^3 x^o$ (ex -νη-)j.

The next group of Planudean changes is found in α . If we disregard the numerous errors of α^1 and α^{80} that failed to reach the other Planudeans, there are nineteen new readings in α^1 . Three are evident misreadings of M:

551C 403.2 *εχουσαι* O; *εχουσι* Z ΠJ^3 .⁴⁷

560E 426.7 *περι* O; *παρά* Π (*υπό γσ*).⁴⁸

563E 433.2 *ως* O; *ως δ* Π (exc. svE^{80}).⁴⁹

Others are due to pronunciation:

560A 424.9 *μέρει* O; *μέρη* Π (exc. $\epsilon^{82}nEB$).

563F 433.9 *ένος δμματος* O; *ένος σώματος* Π (exc. ϵ^8).

No Planudean, then, but α was collated with M, and that collation was perfunctory. The few instances of agreement with other MSS are probably not due to borrowing:

548C 395.9 *εβάλωμεν* O; *εβάλλωμεν* Ry N² (ex -ομεν) M Y θ .

564F 436.1 f. *κατέδυσε* Z hki Π ; *κατέδησε* O.

The third group is found in α^2 . Some readings were borrowed from DRy : compare the variant at 565C 437.3 (p. 96 and n. 32) and

556F 416.16 *τῷ άδίκως* (-ω W) τὸ G^{ras} (X deest) D S¹ $\alpha^2 usen A^1 J^3 W^3 I^2$; *τῷ άδίκως* (-ω W) τοῦ O; τὸ άδίκως τοῦ F Ry K hki $Y^{27} J^{1288} p^{80}$; τὸ άδίκως τῷ $A^2 \gamma sk^2 \beta kn EB$; τῷ (τὸ VX^{st}) δ' άδίκως τοῦ $vS^{2,50}$

565F 438.15 f. *διεχέοντο* G hki C J^3 ; *διεχέοντό τε* $X^{37} t$ F Z Ry K Π (exc. α^{108} ; *διεδέχοντό τε v*; *διαχέοντό τε σ*) W^2 ; *διέχέον τε* O.⁵¹

Some of the new readings are conjectures:

564B 434.11 *τῷ* (add. Pohlenz) καθαρώ Paton; *κάρω* O; *καλῶ* $X^3 C^2$ V; *ἄκρω* Z Π (exc. α^1); *ἄκρω καρῶ* S¹ (*ἄκρω κάρω* S²); *καιρῷ* $W^R f^{2ms}$.

566B 439.9 *ἴδιοι* Z π (exc. $\alpha^1 tJ^3$ (?); *ἴδοι* O; *ἴδοις* G $X^3 C^2$ K hki (*ἴδοιεν i*) Ma^1 , vS^2 (Ry V desunt).

The fourth set of changes is found in $A^2 E$. Only five readings of A^2 are not found in E^1 : the two mentioned in note 34; 550D 401.2 (p. 98); and

549B 397.10 *επιβαλῶν* O; *υπολαβῶν* $X^3 C^2 S$ $A^{280} \beta^1 \kappa^1 \nu^1 E^{288}$.

556B 415.4 *ανευρήσεις* F^{ras} $A^2 \gamma^2 \beta kn$; *αν εύρησεις* O; *αν εύρης* Z; *αν εύρησεις* D; *αν εύρήσης i* N E^{80} .

Of the thirty-one new readings of $A^2 E$ twenty-one are found in X as corrected (but not in X^a); and it is likely that most of the five new readings found in the passage where X is lost once existed there. The source is X, but S may have been an intermediary. X^3 must then be earlier than E.

YJxj CWW^RW^E θ

J^* is the source of the corresponding parts of xj (n. 31); for the relation of xj to J compare

548C 395.10 *κεκίνηκεν* O; *κενίκεν* x; *νεκίκεν* j.

554F 411.16 *καταπεπωκότα* (-πτω- v) O; *έκκαταπεπωκότα* M^1 (?); *πεπωκότα* VvS^2 ; *καταπεπωκέναι* YJ¹ (-πτω- xj).

556E 416.3 f. καὶ—καιροῦ O; om. x; a line in J.

The Planudean readings in xj (see 550F 401.15 f. on p. 98; 567F 443.11 f. on p. 100; 566B 439.10 on p. 104; 566C-D 440.4 on p. 103) were probably not derived from J³, as xj take no notice of the vast majority of Ducas' borrowings.

J descends from Y; YJ have scores of common errors and a paragraphing of their own. Compare also

550D 400.24 αὐτὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ nos; αὐτὸς οὗτος (δ add. K) ἀνὴρ O; δ πλάτων αὐτὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ J¹xj.⁵²

J, however, is not a copy of Y: at 553E 408.20 J¹ reads ἀετὼν, the rest ἀρίστων. While ρι can resemble ε, and στ, τ (thus ὀνόματι in l at 564E 435.14 has been read ὀνομαστί) they are not so written in Y.

The close connection of CW appears from many passages: compare 555C 413.5 f. (p. 101) and

556C 437.3 f. τοῦτι τὸ ἰώδες G²⁷ F Z K M²ΠtJ².³xj θ; τοῦτι τοιῶδες G¹ X¹ (τ. τοιῶδες N) YJ¹; τὸ τοιῶδες i M¹ vS² (V deest); τὸ τοιοῦτον hk M^{3ss}; τοῦτι ποιῶδες C¹W; τιτυῶδες X³C² (τὸ τιτυῶδες S¹[?]; Ry desunt).

W^R is a copy of W,⁵³ taken before the losses in W:

548D 395.18 ἀκοῦν ἐυριπίδου (εὐρ. varie scriptum) O; ἐυριπίδου ἀκούων C^WR (W deest).

W^E comes from W^c: compare 551E 404.1 (n. 40) and

549B 397.13 ἀφαιρεῖ τῆς W^WE O; ἀφαιρεῖται τῆς F D; ἀφαιρεῖται W^R.

556F 416.20 αὐτῷ καὶ διαφορᾶς (-ὰς D) γενομένης O (X deest); καὶ δ. γ. αὐ. Ry C^WW^RW^E; καὶ διαφορᾶς (-φθ- v v) αὐ. γ. ΜΠ (καὶ om. α¹)J³ VvXst.

W first wrote εἰκεναὐτῷ; he then erased -εν αὐτῷ and wrote ε in the space left by the symbol for εν, leaving the rest of the erasure blank, and καὶ—αὐτῷ. W¹ evidently had the text of O. The common

readings of CW are then at least in part due to borrowing by W. A guess at the affinities of W before this admixture may be made from 556C 437.3 (p. 96) and 551B 402.10 (p. 102); compare also

551D 403.13 τροφῆς O; τρυφῆς F³ K W θ. It was allied to the MS in which the conjectures of b₁ originated, and which, once emended, influenced G.

The four MSS qflp have a common ancestor: compare 554B 410.2 f. (p. 98) and

567B 442.3 θαλάτται (-ιαί S Y¹ W) O; -ιοι X¹ f^{1ss}l^{1ss}p^{1ss} (-ιαιοι q; F N desunt).

They share many marginal notes, some also found in Y, which in this case is their source. Thus the marginal note at 553B 407.19 (for which see PM, ad loc.) is found complete in X¹C² F¹ α²εⁿ Y¹ f¹p¹; in XC² F p the note is properly placed; in Y it is at the top of the page beginning with ἀσκληπιῶν (553D 408.9); in f aen it faces the same word as in Y.

They have four sources: Y CW K: compare 556A 414.14 (p. 98) and

551E 404.3 διαφύγωσιν N M Y¹ (-σι O); ἀποφύγωσιν W¹W^E (σι- W^{ras}W^R θ).

552A 404.22 f. λυδιάδας O; λυδίας K q^{2ms} f^{1ms}p^{1ms}; λυσίδας V; λυδίας v.

555B 412.17 προσβάλλουσιν hki W^{R2} Vv θ (προσβάλλουσιν K; προσβάλλουσιν t); προσβαλοῦσαν (-σα Y¹) O.

558B 420.5 f. φιλοσοφία (G X F Z Ry K S¹ θ; φιλοσοφίας f² O) μάλα (μᾶλλον Z; μάλλα i; om. C¹) πρέποντος (πρεπόντος F¹ v; πρεπόντως X¹ Z¹ hki t YJ¹ CW); pro. μ. π. hab. πρεπόντως (πρέποντος S²; πρεπόντως v; πρέποντως V) μάλα ΜΠJ³ VvS².⁵⁴

We assume a close connection between CW and Y because of the reading at 562A 429.5 (n. 34) and

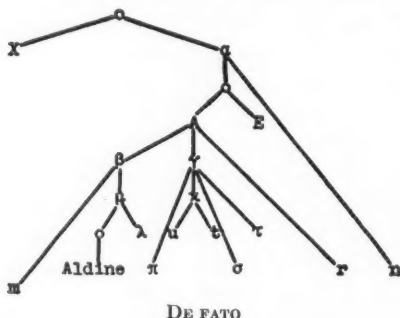
557D 418.7 ἀναμπέχονοι O; ἀμπεχόμενοι Ryt; ἀναμπεχόμενοι hk^c (ex -απεμχ-) C;

ἀμπεχονοι N^{f17p}; ἀναμπεχόμενοι Y¹ W;
ἀμπεχόμενοι Q^{27pc}.⁵⁵

Compare also

560C 425.11 δοκέι O; δοκῇ W^{ac} YJx.

The recension must rest on the reconstruction of the originals of **a** and **b** and on the readings of **F** not derived from the archetype. As all the MSS (except possibly **I** and **Y**¹⁶) are mixed, we must in each case determine their sources to know the meaning of their testimony: if the fragments of the same tradition agree, and mixture with another known source cannot account for the readings of all, we can infer the reading of the tradition.



An unhappy result of the extensive mixture is that the source of a reading must be determined by the groupings of the MSS, and few of them can be entirely dispensed with: thus the reading of **v** helps to determine what readings in **Z** are not Planudean, and **S**, **t**, and even **θ** have their uses in reconstructing **b**₁.

II. THE MSS OF THE *De fato*

Of the seventeen known MSS of the *De fato* ten have already been listed: **X a A γ σ κ β t E n**. The treatise is found in the second part of **X**, of the fourteenth century; this is the only non-Planudean MS. To these are added:

a^{sp} A fragmentary epitome, breaking off at 569E 448.27 on folios 273^v and 275^v of **a**, where it has been crossed out. Its exact

relations have been impossible to determine.

- r** Vaticanus Reginensis 80; 15th century.
 - τ** Toletanus 51, 5; 15–16th century.
 - m** Ambrosianus 271; 16th century.
 - μ** Laurentianus 80, 21; 15th century.
 - π** Laurentianus 80, 22; written (except for folios 12^r–13^r) by Filelfo.
 - υ** Urbinas 99; 14th century.
 - λ** Laurentianus 80, 30; 15th century.
- The recension must rest on **aX**.

III. THE MSS OF THE *De genio Socratis*

There are only two MSS of the *De genio Socratis*, **E** and **B**. Both are Planudean, and derive from a MS in which many passages were wholly or in part illegible (cf. *PM*, I, x–xii). G. R. Manton⁵⁶ has shown that in the seven essays found in **E** and **B** but not in **a**, **B** probably descends from **E** through an emended intermediary.

IV. THE MSS OF THE *De exilio*

Of the twenty MSS of the *De exilio* known to us eighteen have been listed: **a s J x l n A γ σ π κ υ β μ t m E v**. The essay is in the second part of **J**; the *De sera numinis vindicta* in the slightly earlier first part. The first hand of **l** ends at 600F 515.28 before *δ πλατων*, the rest of the essay being written by a different hand; both parts were copied from **s**. The essay is in the second, or Planudean, part of **t**. The two MSS not yet listed are:

- w** Vindobonensis Philos. Gr. 36; 15th century.
- ξ** Laurentianus (Conventi Soppressi 57); 14th century. The last three pages of the essay are now folios 12^r–13^r of **π**.

There is little to add to Sieveking's discussion (*PM*, III, xxiii–xxv). **J** is a copy of **s**. At 605F 527.16–21 the words *παρπίδος—μέ* are in an erasure in **J**. The scribe had dropped the line *παρπίδος—τῆς* in **s**; before he noticed his omission he had written two more lines. He then erased

these (φυγῆς—δυστυχῆς) and recopied the whole passage.

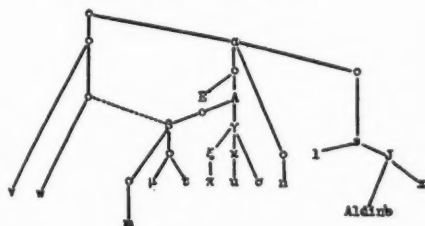
The recension must rest on $\nu\psi^2 a$.

V. THE MSS OF THE *Consolatio ad uxorem*

Nineteen MSS of the *Consolatio ad uxorem* are known to us; seventeen have been listed: C v a A γ σ τ κ υ β μ E B ε η π. In ε the text breaks off at the end of folio 167^v with ἀλυπό (608B 533.10). In C only the first folio survives, written by the first hand, of the 11-12th century. In B the text breaks off at 611F 541.11 with μὲν at the end of the last line of folio 356^v; folio 357^r is blank. The great lacunas of our text begin here; the omission is intentional. We list the remaining two MSS:

L Laurentianus 69, 13; a palimpsest of the 10th century. Five folios of the text of our letter have been lost;⁵⁷ three (40, 131, 124) survive entire, and the letter ends with a Greek cross in the middle of the tenth line of 39^r. Lines 5-9 taper toward the cross.

b Bononiensis 2700; 16th century.



DE EXILIO

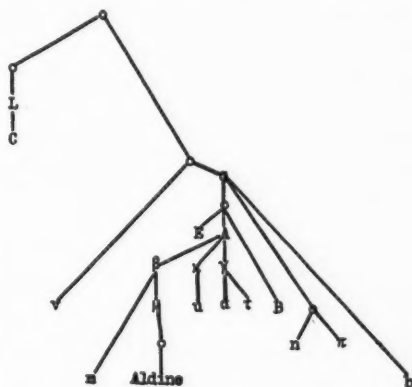
The MSS fall into two families: L with its copy or descendant C, and the rest. The text of v is practically the same as that of the Planudeans; the few variations are quoted below.

Too little survives of ε to determine its relations; it does not appear to derive from n.

LC have been interpolated:

609A 535.16 f. τὴν σώφρονα O; ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πένθεσι τὴν τε σώφρονα L (C deest).

The interpolator used uncials: τε is a corruption of γε. He did not see that οὐ . . . μόνον was answered by ἀλλὰ in the same line, and thus spoiled the sense. Yet L comes from a good text: it anticipates Pohlenz' διαχεόμενον at 610B 537.23 and Reiske's συγχυτικὰς at 611A 539.22. At 610D 538.17 it reads κλώντος—a corruption of κώντος (cf. *Moralia* 61D)—for



CONSOLATIO AD UXOREM

κινούντος. LC v agree against a only four times:

608B 533.8 παρὰ C v η'π; περὶ O (L deest).

608F 535.2 πολλαπλάσιον LC v B; πολυπλάσιον O.

610B 537.26 πλὴν—τινὰς om. L v (C deest).

611A 539.24 παρὰ L v; περὶ O (C deest).

The confusion of the prepositions is trivial. The omission at 610B 537.26 must have occurred independently.

The archetype was in unaccented uncials:

608D 534.7 ἄμα O; ἀλλὰ C¹ (L deest).

608E 534.22 δεῖ O; ἀεὶ LC¹.

610E 538.26 ἐξαιρεῖν O; ἐξάιρειν L (C deest).

610F 539.11 δυσώδη O; λυσσώδη L (C deest).

B shows traces of the influence of a MS similar to LC: compare 608F 535.2, just quoted, and the title:

παραμυθητικός πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα v Lam-
prias; π. πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα O; π.
εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα B; πλουτάρχου π.
πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα n; παραμυθητική(?)
εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν τοῦ
παιδὸς τελευτὴν C (L deest).

Plutarch gave his letter no title. In C the title is probably due to the interpolator, who strangely supposes the child a boy. Compare also:

608C 533.19 οὐδὲ' O; οὐδ' C Bmb (L deest).

608D 534.10 τίτλην C¹ Bn (L deest);
τίτλην O.

It might be argued that B descends from the original of AE:

608C 534.1 f. *δνομα θέσθαι παρέσχεν ἀφορμὴν*
Π(exc. A¹B); *θέσθαι δνομα παρέσχεν ἀφορ-*
μὴν A¹; δνομα παρέσχεν ἀφορμὴν θέσθαι B;
L deest; C¹ longe aliter.

On this theory *θέσθαι* was omitted in the text of the original and supplied in the margin; A inserted it wrongly and was corrected; B inserted it at the end of the passage. But the order in B may be due to mere scribal error; there are many such transpositions in B's text of the *De genio Socratis*.

The recension must rest on LC v a.

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NOTES

1. The collation of N with pp. 417, 432-33, 448-49, and 465-66 of Bernardakis' text was lost during the war.

2. *Plutarchi Moralia* (= PM), Vol. III (Leipzig, 1929). M. Pohlenz edited the *De sera numinis vindicta*, W. Sieveking the remaining four.

3. Cf. H. Wegehaupt, "Die Entstehung des Corpus Planudeum von Plut. Mor.," *Sab. Berlin*, 1909, pp. 1033 f.

4. Cf. D. Wyttenbach, *Plutarchi . . . Moralia . . .* I (Oxford, 1795), xc-xcvi, and W. Sieveking in PM, III, xxix.

5. *Ry* may have emended *ἀμαρτήσας*, taken from *G*, to *ἀμαρτάνουσι*; the traditional reading *ἀμαρτήσας*, preserved in the margin, was then restored between the lines.

6. The words that L. Parmentier in his collation of I (*Anecdota Bruzelliensia*, II [Ghent, 1894], 46) could not place occur at 417B in the *De defectu oraculorum* (No. 69).

7. *Γάρ* is a corruption of *η*; *οὐ* was suggested by the phrase *οὐ θέμις ἐστίν*.

8. The archetype of a dropped *η*; it was restored (presumably from b) in *F* and from *F* in *X*, but not until emendation had occurred.

9. The correction was made for the wrong reason: *eu* was corrupted to *a*; *ἀμετάπτωτον* was then corrected to *μεταπτωτόν*. *S* doubtless had *μεταπτωτόν* and was corrected from *X* or *A*, the correction being subsequently misread.

10. The archetype had *δεινὴ τις* and *οἰκτρον καὶ*; in the second passage *F*^a has the reading of a MS allied to *θ*; *θ* that of *C*; *C* that of *hki*; *K* borrowed from *Vy*; *D* and *X*^a are based on the same conjecture; *RyKShki* made one of its own; *Vy* erred or emended.

11. The archetype had *σηλυμβριανόν*. Minuscule *λν* and *μ* are readily confused, and the reading of *b*₁ represents the local pronunciation. Two partial cor-

rections seem to have occurred in the antecedents of *hki*: the remoter ancestor had *σηλυμβριανόν*; *-νόν* was borrowed from *Z*, while *C* was influenced to drop the *μ*; a later ancestor of *hki* then borrowed *μ* from a relation of *C* not so influenced.

12. The observation that the whole herd stops when a goat takes the eryngo in its mouth is made by Plutarch in two other passages: *Moralia* 700D (with the reading *ῥόγγιον*) and 776F (with *ῥόγγιον*). The story comes from Aristotle *HA* 9. 3. 610 b 29 (τοῦ ῥόγγιου); from him it reached Theophrastus (quoted by Photius *Bibl.* 528 b 25, with τὸ ῥόγγιον) and Antigonius *Hist. mir.* 107 (with τοῦ ῥοντίου). The form *ῥονγγίτης* appears elsewhere only in *Suidas*, s.v., and the unpublished *Lexicon Ambrosianum*, which is here its source (cf. A. Adler, *Suidae Lexicon*, ad loc. and I, xvii f.). Whether the lexicographer found the word in our passage we are not in a position to decide. But the corruption could have happened independently: *ῥόγγιον* became *ῥόγγην* (the two were pronounced alike (cf. D. J. Georgacas in *CP*, XLIII [1948], 243-60) and *ῥόγγην* is attested by Dioscorides, *MM* 3. 21. 1; Pliny, *HN* 22. 18 ff.; Erotian, s.v.; and Photius' *Lexicon*, s.v.), and the article was emended accordingly; *ῥόγγην* became *ῥούτην* in uncials; and *ῥονγγίτης* is a conflation of the two. *F* found *νηυτήν* (which has its initial *ν* from the article) in a MS not descended from the archetype; from *F* it reached *G*^a and *RyKShki*; from *Ry* it was expelled by a borrowing from *G*, from *S* by a borrowing from *A* or the corrector of *X*, and from *hki* by a borrowing from *Z* or *C*.

13. The corruption began in uncials. *F* took the reading from a MS not derived from the archetype; *RyKShki* took it from *F*. In *Ry* a gloss (see n. 15) has ousted *ἐλευθρον*; the emendation of *τι* followed. The order in *RyKShki* came from writing *ἐλευθρόν τι ἐαυτῇ* above *ἐαυτῇ τιὰ τὴν παουρλίαν*.

14. The *ν* of the preceding article was easily attached to this unknown name. In *α^a παυλλίαν* was substituted, the known for the unknown. Another un-

known, *σαυλας*, was easily corrupted (as in W^{ss}) to *σαυλας*; this was corrected by a superscribed λ, and the resulting conflation is found in Vv.

15. Cf. 551F 404.11 *φιλανθρώπων* O; *φιλοσόφως* Ry; 554F 411.23 *πρόχειρον* O; *πρόθυμον* Ry; 556D 415.21 *συμμοσίσαι* (-μω- YJ^{xj}) O; *φιλοδοξίας* Ry; 560A 424.8 *ἐνοβήτης* (-ν Y; *ἐνομβήτης* S¹) O; *ἐσφάρνισα* γ (-ησε R); 562C 429.16 f. (p. 99).

16. Both forms occur in Plutarch *Lucullus* 41.3.5.

17. The error doubtless occurred in RyKShki and reached *t* from K.

18. Cf. 567B 442.5 (p. 101) and 550D 400.22 *μεταβάλλειν καὶ γενέσθαι* (μ. κ. γίνεσθαι: hk¹) O; *μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι* G^o X¹S F D Ry M².

19. The archetype had *τὸ ἀμφανθ*. Ry emended a reading taken from G; RyKShki had the reading found in K¹ρ Vv.

20. The verb was wanting in the archetype. In hki *ἔχουσι*, borrowed from C, was written above *καὶ διέθεν*, which it eventually displaced.

21. The reading of b₁ survives in K. It was changed to *λεσιθιον* in hki under the influence of Z, and at this stage influenced MVv. Next β₂ was borrowed from C and misread, producing the present monster.

22. RyKShki transmitted the reading of N to Vv; Ry misinterpreted the symbol for *ov* (see 551D 403.8 on p. 98); hki emended anew.

23. The reading of the archetype, *φάναι*, was corrupted to *φάσαι*, and corrected by writing *ν* above *κ*; this, interpreted *φάν καὶ*, was emended to *τροφῶν καὶ* in RyKShki, from which it reached C. K borrowed from F; Vv have a mixture of the readings of M and Ry; *t* had this mixed reading before him.

24. The archetype read *πλεῖστας*; *πέμψας*, suggested by its occurrence at 563D 432.12 in a similar context, the consultation of an oracle, was inserted in F; from here it reached C through RyKShki. The readings in Vv come from *πεμψέας*, which comes from *πεμψέας* (or *πεμψέστας*: all three would have been pronounced alike), a monster produced by writing *πίμ ψ* (taken from RyKShki) above *πλεῖστας*.

25. G is the source of t²: cf. 550F 401.15 f. (p. 98); 563C 437.3 (p. 96); and 558A 419.18 *ὁμοῖς* (*ἡμοῖς* R vt) γε *δῆπου* O; *ὁμοῖς γε δεῖ που* G²; *δεῖ που* ss. t².

26. Ryt occasionally agree against the rest: cf. 557D 418.7 (p. 105). For readings taken by *t* from G compare 557F 419.6 (p. 102) and 553F 409.11 *ἐφόν* O; *ἐφόν* Gt.

565C 436.23 *τὸ X¹C²SJ² F Z Ry K N M²Π v* (V deest); *τοῖς* O; *οἷς* F.

27. Cf. C. Wendel, "Planudea," *Byz. Ztschr.*, XL (1940), 406-45.

28. That a descends from M in *Moralia* 1-21 (our dialogue is number 4) was shown by H. Wegehaupt, "Die Entstehung des Corpus Planudeum von Plut. Mor.," *Sab. Berlin* (1909), pp. 1030-46. He assumed an intermediary; Pohlenz, however, saw no reason why a could not be a copy (*ibid.*, p. 1038), and is confirmed *inter alia* by a passage where a^{ss} drops a line in M (562B 429.12 f.).

29. Cf. 549E 398.14 *εἴπεν* O; *εἴπε* αν¹γ¹; 551D 403.9 *οὐδὲ* O; *οὐδὲ* Ben; *δ δ'* a¹; *δ δ'* a²; 552F 406.23 *ἐκτίτριψεν* N Y W¹ (-ε O); *ἐκ' ἐκτίριψε* (i ex t) S²; *ἐκτίτριψε* X¹hk ausBen W²; *ἐκτίτριψε* Z; 566B 439.9 *ἐχούσας* Z S II (exc. a¹se¹) vt (V deest) YJxj I²; *ἐχούσας* O (Ry desunt).

30. In two passages a line in a is dropped by a^{ss}.

31. Cf. 559B 422.6 *ταυρά γε* O; om. sJ¹xj; 563A 431.7 *φόνες* O; *φόνες* sJ¹x; *φόνες* j; 563F 433.13 f. *βαλίας* —*θεαμάτων* om. J¹xj (a line in s).

32. Cf. 565C 437.3 *μολιακὸν οἷα ὠδονούσα γρ* in a¹u¹e¹A¹? γ¹σ¹ρ¹l¹ρ²; *μολιακὸν οἷα ὠδονούσα γρ* in a²n¹. For the readings of the rest see p. 96.

33. Cf. 555A 412.10 *τοῖς* O; *τοῖς* A¹γσ; 568A 444.12 *επαθίντα* (*παθίντα* n) O; *επαθίντα* A¹γσ.

34. Five lines in A are dropped by κ, a^{ss} and κ¹; one by ρ^{ss}. For β compare 554B 410.6 *θεώμενοι* O; *θεώμενοι* A²γσβεν¹ and 562A 429.5 *ἀγορῶν* Pohlenz; *ἀγορῶν* O; *ἀγορῶν* YJxj W θ; *ἀγορῶν* X¹SJ² R A²βκ.

35. Cf. 548C 395.7 *ἀμύνασθαι* (-εσθαι B) O; *ἀμύνασθαι* γσ; 556B 415.5 *μετάπτωσις* O; *μετάπτωσις* κ²; 562B 429.13 *ἐμβαλοῦσα* O; *συμβαλοῦσα* γσκ².

36. Cf. 554F 411.23 *ισχυρὸν* O; *ισχυρά* κEB (in A *ov* is expressed by a transverse stroke touching the loop of the ρ and at first sight making it look like an *ε*; it was no doubt so written in the original of AE); 557A 416.23 *ἐκ' αὐτὸν* O; om. A¹EB; 559B 422.13 *κινήματα* O; *τὰ κινήματα* EB; 562E 430.18 *οὐ δυνάμενοι* δδ O; *οὐ δυνάμενοι* K S; *οὐδὲ δυνάμενοι* EB; 566F 441.13 *ἐνταῦθ'* O; *ἐνταῦθα* G Z kki; *θαδ'* E¹ms (= *ἐνταῦθα* δ'); *ἐνταῦθ'* B.

37. Cf. 556C 415.14 *προβάλλοντα* O; *προβάλλοντα* a¹A¹; 566E 440.20 *λαίψει* O; *λαίψει* γσ; *λαίψει* a¹A¹.

38. Cf. 550F 401.15 f. (p. 98) and 549B 397.11 *Ὀλυμπικός* Bernardakis; *Ὀλυμπικός* O; *Ὀλυμπικός* S AγσβενE; 554B 410.10 *ἀνθιπὴ* G X¹F² I W² (W deest) θ; *ἀνθιπὴ* F¹ Z R K^o M² (ex *ἀθ-*) ausBen YJ²x C¹; *ἀνθιπὴ* X²tC²S Dy K²sk hki Vv j; *ἀνθιπὴ* AγσβενE; 555B 412.19 *πτολεμαῖον* O; *τοῦ πτολεμαίου* Aγσκ²βενEB.

39. Cf. PM, I, xx.

40. Cf. 551A 401.23 (p. 98); 558C 420.11 (p. 96); 560B 424.21 (p. 100); and 551E 404.1 *μεταβάλλεσθαι* G X¹F² Z; *μεταβαλλέσθαι* v J²xj; *μεταβαλλέσθαι* (-καλ- R) W^{ss}? O; *τοῦ μεταβαλλέσθαι* W²W² (τοῦ μεταβαλλέσθαι WE); 553B 407.12 *κλεισθῆναι* O; *κλεισθῆναι* v S²hk M²Π; *κλεισθῆναι* ηρ v; 559F 424.1 *χρῆλός* O; *χρῆλός* X¹F² Z (χρῆλός v); 560A 424.12 *δεῖ* O; *δὲ* X¹FK vZ¹ms; om. G.

41. M was miscopied by a¹; a¹ corrected, writing *ν* above *ρ*; this was misread *κύνει*. An ancestor of v (with the reading *κύνει* or *κύνει*) borrowed a *ρ* from a; this led to the reading *κύνει*; Z took the *ρ* from an ancestor of v, and the *ρ*, misread *ν* and inserted into the original reading *κύνει*, produced *κύνει*.

42. A badly written β₂ can resemble μ₂.

43. For example 549F 398.23 *καὶ τὰ G X¹z² F Z I K*; *καὶ* O; 566D 440.9 *προθυμολογούμενος δ'* *αὐτὸς* Pohlenz; *προθυμολογούμενος* G¹ X¹ M¹ YJ¹xj WWR²; *πρ. δὲ* G²; *πρ. οὐν* hk¹ C θ; *πρ. X²tC²SJ²ms*; *καὶ* *πρ. F Z Ry K N M²Π²ms* v (V deest); *καὶ* *πρ. οὐν* k¹.

44. He begins a paragraph with *πᾶν* at 554D 410.24. No other MS shows a paragraph here; in a the word begins folio 17^r and projects into the margin.

45. The original of M had 40-42 letters to a line. Thus M¹ drops 41 letters at 555D 413.14 f. (-*ἀν-* *παυρῶν*); 40 at 563E 433.1 (-*φορὰς* —*γεγονόται*); and repeats 42 at 564C 434.22 f. (*φοροῦντι* —*τά*). We therefore hesitate to infer the reading of the archetype (cf. PM, III, xii) from the omission at 563E 433.1.

46. S¹ has the first *ε* from X, the rest from A; S² has *ἐκόνται* and *οὐ* from V; G² and W² have *οὐ* and *οὐδὲ* from kindred of hki (thus G², apparently the same

hand, has $\delta_{\chi\mu}$ $\tau\omega$ with $hk'i$ at 557D 418.12 against the rest, which have $\delta_{\chi\mu}$; C¹ has an incomplete correction from X, F¹ from a MS related to θ . M² borrowed from C, RyKShki from F; M², Ry and S² all have the easy correction $\tau\omega$.

47. The wavy descending line (= α) in M is easily mistaken for ϵ .

48. M has the compendium.

49. In M the word looks like $\omega\delta$.

50. Vv may have a mixed reading: Vy, with the reading of M, borrowed from RyKShki (S¹ has the reading of X or of A¹) by writing δ above ω . The δ looked like δ and was added as such by the next copyist. The dative in v doubtless comes from G. The corruption in the archetype (which had the reading of O) arose from confusing the following word, $\beta\rho\alpha\delta\iota\omega\varsigma$, with $\beta\rho\alpha\delta\iota\varsigma$; it is actually so written in G¹ Ry² K¹ VvX² C.

51. The archetype had the reading of O, an easy corruption. The active would not do, and $\tau\omega$ was written above $\tau\epsilon$, dislodging it in some MSS. C borrowed from hki, hki from Z (which had the reading of G). J² misunderstood or emended the reading of X² or II. S preserves the reading of RyKShki; K borrowed from F, and Ry have a conflation with the reading of G.

52. Y¹ set an index over $\alpha\beta\rho\delta\iota\varsigma$, which begins a line; in the left margin he wrote δ $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\mu$, repeating the index; X¹ f¹ have the note but not the index. The same index is used by an early corrector of Y at 549F

398.22 f. to mark an omission supplied in the margin. The omitted words are found in J. J misinterpreted the index at 550D 400.24 and copied δ $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\mu$ into the text.

53. Cf. M. Treu, *Zur gesch. d. überl. von Plut. Mor.*, III (progr. Breslau, 1884), 5 f.

54. The acute was written so far to the right that $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\tau\alpha\iota$ seemed paroxytone; acutes are often so placed in L (Laur. 69, 13), of the tenth century. Emendation to $\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\tau\alpha\iota$ followed; and $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha$, left thus suspended, was put in the genitive so as to depend on $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omega\iota$. In N $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\omega\tau\alpha\iota$ is a borrowing or more probably an error.

55. N dropped $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ by haplography; RyKShki emended; C borrowed a termination from hki; hk borrowed from C, t from K, K from F; f has its variant from Y¹, q from W, both omitting $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ as readily supplied from the text.

56. Cf. "The Manuscript Tradition of Plutarch *Moralia* 70-7," *Classical Quarterly*, XLIII (1949), 97-104. K. Hubert, "Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung für Plutarchs *Moralia* 70-77," *Rh. Mus.*, XCIII (1950), 330-36, defends against Manton Treu's view that in the works numbered 70-77 E and B are independently derived from the same lost MS. He is unaware (*op. cit.*, p. 333, n. 3) of the relation of E and B in the *De sera numinis vindicta* (see note 36 above).

57. Cf. H. Wegehaupt, "Der Florentiner Plutarchpalimpsest," *Abh. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, II (Berlin, 1914), 8.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

PALAEPHARSALUS, PHARSALUS, PHARSALIA

Early in the present century J. P. Postgate protested against the abandonment of "Pharsalia," the traditional English title of Caesar's victory over Pompey, in favor of "Pharsalus," which the prestige of Drumann and Mommsen had established in Germany,¹ reaffirming his objections in greater detail twelve years later.² Postgate points out that whenever Roman writers mention a specific town in connection with the engagement, this town is Palaepharsalus.³ Caesar states merely that the battle took place in *Thessalia*;⁴ Cicero designates it by such adjectival expressions as *Pharsalicum proelium*⁵ and *pugna Pharsalia*.⁶ However, the usual practice of Roman authors, when they use a single word in referring to the battle, is to employ the noun *Pharsalia*.⁷

For nearly twenty years there has been no reason for uncertainty as to the location of the battlefield or of Palaepharsalus itself. Further, a great deal of evidence supports the identification of Palaepharsalus with Phthia, the traditional home of Achilles.⁸ In a brochure dealing with the topography and history of Pharsalus,⁹ Stählin maintained that "Pharsalus"¹⁰ and Phthia were assimilated in antiquity.¹¹ Neither in this brochure nor in the later *Das hellenische Thessalien* is he concerned with the battlefield except in an incidental way, and consequently proposes no hypothesis concerning the location of Palaepharsalus, of which the chief interest is its association with the battle. In "Études Thessaliennes I"¹² Béquignon reviewed various theories of the site of the battlefield, which for the most part placed it to the north of the Enipeus, and found that they would not square with the literary and topographical evidence. From this he concluded that the battle was fought on the south bank of the Enipeus, to the northeast of Pharsalus. It was now necessary to find a location for Palaepharsalus. After tentatively accepting Stählin's identification of Fatih-Djami hill with Phthia, Bé-

quignon proceeds (p. 27): "Remarquons toutefois que son identification repose uniquement sur la légende d'Achille,—dont l'importance à Pharsale ne saurait être niée. Mais on pourrait compléter cette explication de la manière suivante: à l'époque où la ville s'étendit et où fut délaissé le premier habitat, le nom de Phthia dut disparaître devant celui de Pharsale, et dans la suite, on désigna le noyau primitif de la ville du nom de Palaepharsalos, par opposition à la ville plus récente, Pharsale." Several years later Stählin supplemented and corrected Béquignon's conclusions by an article in which, after exhaustive review of the literary evidence and firsthand examination of all locations which this did not rule out, he decided that the battlefield was approximately where it had been situated by Béquignon, although a little farther to the east; Palaepharsalus he placed on the hill known as Palaiokastro, which rises from the left bank of the Enipeus some five miles to the east and north of Pharsalus.¹³ In June 1931, after obtaining Stählin's authorization, Béquignon excavated Palaiokastro hill; the digging showed that the site had been inhabited since the early Helladic period; the most recent findings dated from the end of the sixth century B.C.¹⁴ As a result of this discovery, Béquignon abandoned Fatih-Djami in favor of Palaiokastro as the site of Palaepharsalus. He maintains his identification of Palaepharsalus with Phthia; in fact the new site lends strong confirmation to this hypothesis. In this connection Béquignon cites a scholium to *Od.* 4. 9: Μυρμιδόνων προτὶ ἄστυ ἦν "Ομηρος μὲν Φθίαν λέγει, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι Φαρσαλίαν."¹⁵

E. Bernert, in the article "Phthia" in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll,¹⁶ contests the identification of "Pharsalus" with Phthia, as proposed by Stählin in 1914 and 1924.¹⁷ After citing passages which point toward this identification Bernert declares (950): "In der Tat wurde gerade Pharsalos in geschichtlicher Zeit mit

dem homerischen P[hthia] gleichgesetzt," but despite this surmises that Phthia is to be located on Peleion or along the Spercheius, adding: "Hier also am Spercheios mag die in Od. IV. 9 erwähnte Stadt der Myrmidonen gelegen haben, deren Namen wir aber nicht kennen." Unfortunately the value of Bernert's article, at least as it concerns the city of Phthia, is singularly diminished by his failure to keep abreast of the relevant literature published since 1924. He makes no distinction between Old and New Pharsalus. He shows no knowledge of Béquignon's 1928 and 1932 articles; he refers to Stählin's 1924 monograph, but does not know that since 1931 this no longer represents Stählin's conclusions on many important points. He takes no account of Severyns' work, nor does he grasp the implications of Kroll's restoration of the reading "Pharsaliam" in Catullus 64. 37 (if he is cognizant of it at all). It is understandable that in the assembly of a collective work of the proportions of the *RE* it is almost impossible for all contributors to make use of the most recent researches in their fields (the articles first submitted often must wait until those by collaborators less prompt are ready, and tend to become obsolescent during the interval), and this is especially true in a troubled period of war and the preparation of war, but a differential of seventeen years is difficult to justify by any circumstances, however extraordinary.

In Greek, as has been seen, *Φαρσαλία* not only has the allegedly "normal" meaning of "the district round about Pharsalus [*ager Pharsalicus*]"¹⁸ but is used by the *νέωτεροι* as the name of the native city of Achilles. It is probable that in this connection the term *νέωτεροι* should be restricted to Hellenistic poets. Until the rise of New Pharsalus there would be no need for a special name to differentiate the old from the new settlement; such preoccupation with geographical nicety, moreover, is more in accord with the practice of the Alexandrian scholar-poets than with that of the fifth and fourth centuries. "Pharsalia" first occurs in Latin literature in Catullus 64. 37. This epyllion is thoroughly Hellenistic in inspiration.¹⁹ The context of vs. 37 shows beyond possibility of cavil that "Pharsalia" is

here a city, not a region; the necessity for a city name, coupled with a desire to remedy the fancied metrical blemish, motivated Pontanus' long-accepted substitution of "Pharsalum" for "Pharsaliam."

In Lucan's poem the noun "Pharsalia" occurs fifteen times. Postgate takes thirteen of these to mean the battle, two, the region (Ex., p. lxxxix). The regional examples are 7. 175 and 535. In both of these the "proper" meaning of the word (in Lucan's mind) is the battle; in the first instance this is extended by metonymy to the region where the engagement is to take place, in the second, it is similarly extended to the region where the battle has been fought; in both passages the region is called "Pharsalia" because of its association with the battle of this name. Lucan has only the vaguest notions of the topography of the battlefield, and he does not seem to take much interest in the matter. To designate the conflict, he uses the terms "Pharsalia" and "Thessalia" without distinction beyond that of metrical convenience. It is true that in 7. 224-26 he seemingly places Pompey's right wing on the Enipeus, no doubt mechanically following his historical source; on the other hand, he has just absurdly represented the Pompeian line of battle facing the sun ("adverso Phoebi radiatus ab ietu" [7. 214]) as it descends into the plain (marching almost due west) on the morning of the clash. Lucan does not use "Pharsalus" in connection with the battle, but there is no reason why he should. The cumbrous "Palaepharsalus" which he found in Livy²⁰ did not please him, but for a more euphonious designation he needed only to have recourse to Ovid:

illius auspiciis obsessae moenia pacem
victa petent Mutinae: Pharsalia sentiet illum
Emathiaque iterum madefient caede Philippi
[Met. 15. 822-24].

Here Ovid is thinking of the siege of Mutina rather than of the scene of the battle fought near this town; it is however patent that he has in mind the battlefield of Philippi, and that upon which Caesar routed Pompey. The concept of a battlefield of Philippi implies that of a battle of the same name. In antiquity as at present battles are more often named after towns than districts. On the basis of this pas-

sage "Pharsalia," sandwiched between Mutina and Philippi, would seem properly to mean a town, which, like the other two, had given its name to a battle. But, it may be objected, the "normal" meaning of "Pharsalia" is "the district of Pharsalus." So far from this regional meaning being the normal one, only one example has been found in Greek prior to the first century after Christ,²¹ and, as will be seen, only two in Latin, both of which are dubious,²² before the *Commenta Bernensia* to Lucan, where the scholiast's interpretation rests upon a misunderstanding of Lucan's wildly figurative use of the term. On the other hand, Ovid had the precedent of Catullus for "Pharsalia" in the sense of "Palaepharsalus"; he knew that the battle took place near this hamlet, for since the publication of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* this information had been available to the public. Ovid was steeped in the works of the *νεώτεροι* to a degree probably unparalleled before his day and certainly after, and at no time in his career was his recollection of these poets more fresh than when he composed the final verses of his great collective epic, the raw material of which he had obtained almost entirely from post-Homeric and particularly Hellenistic sources. It would have been a simple matter to substitute the metrically unexceptionable "Pharsalus" in this verse; that Ovid did not use this term points toward a sense of geographical nicety and a knowledge of Hellenistic poetic erudition that is as understandable in his case as it would be astonishing in that of Lucan. Ovid uses "Pharsalia" as a recognized if somewhat recherché poetic synonym for "Palaepharsalus." Lucan follows Ovid, probably without clearly understanding the elegant precision of the Ovidian designation.

There is a distinct possibility that "Pharsalia" as well as "Palaepharsalus" occurred in Livy 111 as the name of the hamlet near which the battle took place. In the *Periocha* of this book we read: "translato in Thessaliam bello apud Pharsaliam acie victus est," and in the *Commenta Bernensia* to Lucan 7. 62: "T. Livius eum [Ciceronem] in Sicilia [sic, doubtless a scribal error] aegrum fuisse tradit eo tempore, quo Pharsaliae pugnatum est."²³ If Livy

used "Pharsalia" in this book, it was because the word had been given currency by the passage of Ovid just discussed. Livy 28 was not written before 19 B.C., 59 not before the following year, and probably a good deal later. By the time Livy reached 111 he may reasonably be supposed to have read the *Metamorphoses*, which had been in informal circulation for some time when the poet was obliged to withdraw to Tomis in the fall of A.D. 8.

There are three occurrences of the noun "Pharsalia" in the elder Pliny's *Natural History*. In 6. 216 it appears in a list of geographical names comprised in the fifth segment of the world. Pliny here enumerates without qualification fourteen regions, twenty-four cities, and a number of seas and islands. "Pharsalia" figures between Beroea and Carystum (*sic*). It is impossible to tell whether the author here regarded it as a city or a region. In 7. 94: "captis apud Pharsaliam Pompei Magni scriniis," it is plain that a town is meant.²⁴ This is no less plain in 26. 9: "cur hercule Caesaris miles ad Pharsaliam famem sensit, si abundantia omnis contingere unius herbae felicitate poterat?" Further confirmation is furnished by the curious confusion of Palaepharsalus with Dyrrachium that has here taken place in Pliny's mind. Tacitus uses the noun twice. In *Hist.* 1. 50. 2: "Pharsaliam Philippos et Perusiam ac Mutinam, notarum publicarum cladium nomina" the battle is uppermost in the author's thought, but the three city names that accompany it indicate that a city rather than a region gave the battle its name; similarly the emphasis is on the battle in *Hist.* 2. 38. 2: "non discessere ab armis in Pharsalia ac Philippis civium legiones." There is however little reason to suppose that the word here has a regional connotation.²⁵

Pompey was defeated near Palaepharsalus, and this settlement properly gave the battle its name. *Φαρσαλία* in Hellenistic poetry is a synonym for "Palaepharsalus"; it was brought into Latin by Catullus and used with reference to the battle by Ovid. Although Lucan did not entirely understand its meaning, he borrowed it as *terminus technicus* for the battle, and this engagement continued to be so designated, usually in a manner indicating that "Phar-

salia" was properly the name of a town. It is therefore in accordance with Roman usage to speak of the "Battle of Palaepharsalus"; the traditional "Battle of Pharsalia" is no less acceptable, provided that "Pharsalia" be understood as an alternate name for "Palaepharsalus" rather than to mean "the region of Pharsalus." The current locution "Battle of Pharsalus" cannot be defended.

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NOTES

1. "Pharsalia nostra," *CR*, XIX (1905), 257-60. In France the same term (*Pharsale*) is used for both "Pharsalus" and "Pharsalia," and consequently the question of the relative merits of the old and new designations has not arisen in this country.

2. *Lucan VIII* (Cambridge, 1917), Excursus C (pp. lxxix-xviii). The arguments advanced in the earlier article are restated with fuller documentation; new material has also been added, notably an acute discussion of literary evidence indicating the identity of Palaepharsalus with Phthia, the home of Achilles (pp. xcv-xcvi). It is regrettable that the Excursus, doubtless because it was buried in a school edition, did not become more generally known. Both F. Stählin and Y. Béquignon, whose complementary studies of matters pertaining to the site of the battle (see below) led to independent confirmation of the identification proposed by Postgate (cf. Béquignon, "Études Thessaliennes V," *BCH*, LVI [1932], 118-19) make use of the 1905 article but have no knowledge of the Excursus.

3. *Bellum Alex.* 48; *Front. Strat.* 2. 3. 22; *Eutrop.* 6. 13; *Oros.* 6. 15. 27.

4. *BC* 3. 100. 3, 101. 7, 111. 5. Postgate fancies that Caesar uses "Thessalia" in a limited sense to designate "the district in which lay the two Pharsaluses, Old and New" (Ex., p. xciii). He asserts, on questionable evidence, that this was "the ancient local appellation" for this region. Whether or not this usage existed, by "Thessalia" Caesar here means "Thessaly." As A. Klotz has shown (*Cæsaretudien* [Leipzig and Berlin, 1910], pp. 13 and 25), Caesar writes as a publicist rather than a historian. In the *BC* he is especially anxious to defend his conduct before the Roman public; he is little concerned with exact toponomastical detail; had he been he would have eschewed a term so liable to misunderstanding as "Thessalia" in this sense. Cf. the observations of F. Stählin on Caesar's customary avoidance of precise geographical names (*Das hellenische Thessalien* [Stuttgart, 1924], p. 142).

5. *Deiot.* 13 and 29, *Phil.* 2. 71. It is noteworthy that in *B. Alex.* 42 the phrase *Pharsalici proeli* occurs, which shows that this adjective may properly be used of Palaepharsalus.

6. *Phil.* 14. 23; cf. *Div.* 1. 68.

7. A number of examples are given, Ex., p. xcvi. These and others will be discussed below. Postgate does not cite the *Fasti Amiternini* (after A.D. 15) which read under 9 August "CAES C F PHARSALI DEVICT" (*CIL*, I, 244), where lapidary compendiousness may explain the unparalleled designation. In the *Fasti Antiates* (after A.D. 50) the still shorter *PHARS* occurs at this date (*CIL*, I, 248, and A. Degraffi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, XIII [Rome, 1947], 303. In this instance Degraffi makes an exception to his plan of reserving *Kalendaria* for a volume as yet unpublished

[cf. XIII, viii]). Later Greek writers vaguely associate Pharsalus with the engagement. Of the examples from Dio, Polyaeus, and Applan cited by Postgate (*CR*, XIX [1905], 259) only the last, as he remarks, approaches precision: *παρίστανε . . . ἐς τὸ μεταξύ Φαρσάλου τε πόλεως καὶ Ἑνπίου ποταμοῦ, ἔθα καὶ ὁ Καίσαρ ἀντίδικεσθαι* (*BC* 2. 75). This passage does not, however, fix the battle in the vicinity of Pharsalus as distinguished from Palaepharsalus, since Postgate's assumption that the latter is on the north side of the Enipeus is no longer tenable.

8. Prior to the discovery of the site of Palaepharsalus and the dating of the displacement of most of the population to the new city (according to Béquignon [*BCH*, LVI (1932), 116-17] the older settlement was eclipsed by the new at the end of the sixth century B.C.) the ambiguous nature of the name "Pharsalus" was not understood. (The town known in historical times as "Palaepharsalus" was of course called simply "Pharsalus" until the latter designation was appropriated by the new city; naturally "Pharsalus" may retain its original meaning in works the dramatic date of which is anterior to the rise of the new settlement.) This semantic ambivalence was made more confusing by the circumstance that in historic times the inhabitants of the new town took over many of the traditions and religious observances of the parent community (cf. Stählin, *Das hellenische Thessalien*, p. 136).

9. *Pharsalos, Topographische und geschichtliche Untersuchungen über die Hauptstadt der Phthiotis* (Nürnberg, 1914).

10. At this time Stählin made no distinction between Old and New Pharsalus, and consequently was not aware of the semantic complications discussed in n. 8.

11. *Pharsalos*, p. 16, where apropos of whether Phthia was a city or a region, he declares: "Meist sind ja in alter Zeit Landschafts- und Stadtname gleich, z. B. Trachis, Argos." He lists for the connection of Phthia with Peleus or Achilles Hes. *Frag.* 81; *Pind. Pyth.* 3. 100; Heracleides (Ps.-Dicaearchus) *GGM*, I, 109; together with the following passages for similar use of Pharsalus: Pherecydes, *FGH*, 3, 1a; Sch. *Pind. Nem.* 4. 81; *Tzet. Lyc.* 175; *Eur. IA* 813; *Cat.* 64. 37 (in this line the reading of the MS tradition *Pharsaliam* has definitively ousted Pontanus' "emendation" *Pharsalum* since Kroll's demonstration of its authenticity in the commentary of his edition [Berlin, 1923]; Ellis had printed it in his Oxford edition of 1904, thereby bringing upon himself Housman's sneers [*CR*, XIX (1905), 121]; ironically enough the very metrical anomaly [Pharsaliam coeunt, Pharsalia tecta frequentant] that stuck in the Englishman's crop was shown by Kroll to be an earnest of the genuineness of the reading of the MSS; *Pharsaliam* is maintained, with additional justificatory references in the appa-

tus, in M. Schuster's Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1949)]; Sch. *Il.* 23. 142; Eustath. 1. 155 (Eustathius here uses the Byzantine *ῥὰ Φάρσαλα* which he explicitly identifies with Phthia, the home of Achilles); Lucan 6. 350; Sch. Plat. *Sisyph.* (Φάρσαλα). In addition, Eur. *And.* 20 ff. is cited for Pharsalus as the residence of Neoptolemus (in fact the dramatist says Neoptolemus lived at Thetideion [vs. 21]; furthermore it is impossible to determine whether Euripides in vs. 16 [πύλῳι Φαρσάλης] is thinking anachronistically of New Pharsalus or not, and whether Phthia in the same verse designates a city or a region), and Tzet. *Lyc.* 1268 (*EGF*, I, 46) for Neoptolemus' having brought Andromache to Pharsalus after the fall of Troy. Tzetzes quotes eleven verses which he represents as belonging to Lesches' *Iliad parva* (in fact the last six, in which Andromache's name appears, are from a poem by the Hellenistic poet Simmias of Rhodes, as a scholium to Eur. *And.* 14 [cf. Kinkel's apparatus *ad loc.*] attests). After quoting these verses Tzetzes says that, according to Lesches, after the sack of Troy Aeneas and Andromache were given to Neoptolemus, who took them back with him *εἰς Φαρσάλῃαν τὴν τοῦ Ἀχιλλεύου πατρίδα*. It is probable that the term *Φαρσάλια* had appeared in the context of the passage of Simmias which Tzetzes here cites; in so far as this probability exists the passage confirms the Hellenistic use of *Φαρσάλια* to designate (Old) Pharsalus. Stählin then points out that in historical times the people of Pharsalus regarded Achilles as their national hero and that the cult of Achilles was practised not only at Thetideion but at Pharsalus, and concludes (pp. 16-17): "Für die antike Überlieferung steht also die Gleichsetzung von Phthia mit Pharsalos fest. Wir sehen hier den bei den Hellenen häufigen Vorgang, dass eine grosse Stadt Sage und Kult eines früheren Ortes für sich in Anspruch nimmt, so wie Theben Sage und Kult von Phylake und Pyrasos. . . . Es ist also zu schliessen, dass ein prähistorischer Ort bei Pharsalos Phthia hiess, und es ist möglich, dass er auf dem Hügel am Apidanos lag." This is the hill today called Fatih-Djami, which lies about a mile to the north of the acropolis of Pharsalus. Stählin had picked up several prehistoric sherds and one geometric fragment during a superficial scrutiny of the site (p. 15).

12. *BCH*, LII (1928), 3-44.

13. "Das Schlachtfeld von Pharsalos," *Bayerische Blätter für das Gymnasial-Schulwesen*, LXVII (1931), 1-17, and map facing page three.

14. Béquignon published the results of this campaign in *BCH* in 1932, in the article cited in n. 2 above (see pp. 114-17 for the history of the ancient settlement on Palaiokastro hill and for its identification with Palaepharsalos).

15. In *Le Cycle épique dans l'école d'Aristarque* (Liège and Paris, 1928), p. 117, A. Severyns attributes this statement to Aristarchus. To the Hellenistic critic the νεώτεροι include all poets subsequent to Homer (pp. 21-41).

16. *RE*, Halbband XXXIX (Stuttgart, 1941), 949-58. Part I (949-51) deals with the traditional city of Phthia.

17. *Pharsalos*, p. 16; *Das hellenische Thessalien*, p. 136.

18. According to Postgate (Ex., p. lxxxix) this is its "normal signification both in Greek and Latin."

19. Cf. J. C. Arens, *De Godenschildering in Ovidius' Metamorphosen* (Nijmegen, 1946), p. 22, where, in speaking of this poem, he remarks: "Catullus realiseerde het principe der moderniseering niet, maar copieerde, onzelfstandig, de middelen van voorgangers, daar hij aan het stadium der imitatie nog niet ontgroeid was, al zocht hij in andere opzichten reeds eigen wegen." Arens has been making the point that whereas Ovid adapted and Romanized his Hellenistic models, Catullus, at least in 64, made no attempt to bring his material into conformity with Roman usages and ideas.

20. Its use by the *auctores Liviani* Frontinus, Eutropius and Orosius attests its presence in Livy's text. See note 3 above.

21. Pol. 18. 20. 6; Plutarch (*Caes.* 42) uses the word in a regional sense, but there does not appear to be a third example of this. (The reference to Diod. 11. 83 in Pape-Benseler's *Wörterbuch* is based upon an obsolete text.) An entry in M. E. Miller's excerpts from the unpublished *Etymologicum genuinum* (*Mélanges de littérature grecque* [Paris, 1868]), p. 157: *Θερσία πόλις μεταξύ Φαρσάλιας* is obviously corrupt. It should probably be emended by adding *καὶ Ἐπερίας* (cf. Pol. 18. 20. 5), *Φαρσάλια* being understood as *Παλαιόφαρσας*.

22. Pliny *HN* 6. 216 and Tac. *Hist.* 2. 38. 2 are cited by Postgate (Ex., p. lxxxix) as examples of "Pharsalia" used in Latin in the regional sense. See however the discussion, of these passages below page 113.

23. That Livy thus employed "Pharsalia" is further suggested by its appearance in Pliny the Elder, Tacitus, and especially Florus. Florus uses the word three times, once loosely, as the equivalent of "Thessalia" (if indeed the true reading here is not "Thessalia," as Rossbach suspects; see apparatus to his edition [Leipzig, 1896] to 2. 13. 64) and twice (2. 13. 66: "nihil ergo inter Pharsalliam et Thapson," and 2. 13. 89: "Pharsalia et Thapson et Munda nusquam") in a manner that corresponds exactly with the town names with which it is in each instance coupled.

24. Cf. *ibid.*, 5. 115: "cum pugnatum apud Trolam est." *Apud* with names of regions first appears in Tacitus' *Annals* (Leumann-Hofmann, *Lat. Gr.* [Munich, 1928], p. 499).

25. *In* is to be taken to mean "in the case of." Tacitus rarely repeats the preposition in passages of this sort. Cf. *ibid.*, 2. 9. 2: "ut eum in Syria aut Aegyptio sisterent."

THEOCRITUS 15.87-88

It has troubled many that the hostile critic makes use of precisely the dialect he criticizes, though of course he may have done so from motives of derision. Yet the imitative mockery, if it is that, is a little too complete and circumstantial for the irritation of the moment, and we have no reason to believe that there was a large number of Syracusan émigrés in Alexandria; so that the speaker of 87-88 would have had little chance to practice his imitation before it poured from him spontaneously. Consequently those who demand realism in this poem are offended.

It is true that we may infer from several passages in Aristophanes that Athenian ears were sensitive to dialect variation; and Theocritus himself varies his language together with his material, though not *within* a single poem. This seems to be the point here: the characters are not Aristophanic, but mimic. We have left the realism of the Attic stage and are spectators of the artificiality of the Sophronic, where, it is reasonable to infer, all characters

spoke Syracusan. In other words, in Theocritus' poems, the dialect is dictated by the subject, as we might have expected, and is not varied within a given work.

It would be easy, no doubt, to rewrite the lines in the standard Greek of the early koine, assuming this to be used on the streets of Alexandria, as it was in the Septuagint; but one cannot feel that such an exploit is justified. Theocritus' ear, in this poem at least, was attuned to the sense, not to the sound. We must also observe that the singer affects the same dialect as the ladies from Syracuse, though somewhat more elegantly and tamely, it is true. One may safely defy anyone to rewrite 100-144 in the standard Greek of the day, or in any other literary dialect. Theocritus, here as elsewhere, has concentrated his effort on a contrast of vocabulary and feeling, not of dialect.¹

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NOTES

1. The standard treatment of the dialect of this poem is that of V. Magnien, *Mém. soc. ling. de Paris*, XXI (1920), 49-85, 112-38; see also *Rev. ét. gr.* XXXI (1918), 344-77. For criticism see Bignone, *Teocrito*, p.

169, n. 1; Vollgraft, *Mnem.*, XLVII (1919), 340; A. S. F. Gow, *JHS*, LVIII (1938), 180, n. 2, the last of whom considers Magnien's main thesis "very rash," and see now Gow's excellent commentary *ad loc.*

A NOTE ON HORACE EPISTLE 1.14

This epistle, when examined along with Columella *RR* 1.8.1-2, sheds some interesting light upon Horace in his role of landowner. From line 14 we learn that the anonymous overseer (*vilicus*) of the Sabine farm had formerly been a slave-of-all-work (*mediastinus*) in Horace's *familia urbana*, and, at his own request, had been sent to the country to supervise the management and cultivation of the poet's farm. His experience in this capacity had fallen far short of his expectations, for he is portrayed as anxious beyond all else to return to his more leisurely existence in Rome (ll. 15, 21-26). There is no reason to doubt that

Horace is composing a humorous response to an actual request made by his overseer.

In these circumstances Horace finds himself in the very predicament which Columella, the best-informed of the Roman experts on agriculture, at a later date (*ca.* A.D. 65) advises his reader to avoid. In *RR* 1.8.1-2 we find the following recommendation:

Igitur praemoneo ne vilicum ex eo genere servorum qui corpore placuerunt instituiamus, ne ex eo quidem ordine qui urbanas ac delicatas artes exercuerit. Socors et somniculosum genus id mancipiorum, otii, campo, circo, theatris, aleae, popinae, lupanaribus consuetum, numquam non

easdem ineptias somniat; quas cum in agri culturam transtulit, non tantum in ipso servo quantum in universa re detrimenti dominus capit. Eligendus est rusticis operibus ab infante duratus et inspectus experimentis.

Thus, Columella censures the very practice of which Horace had been guilty in appointing a city-bred slave as manager of his farm. Whether Columella had Horace's epistle in mind when he wrote the above passage we shall never know. It is reasonable to suppose that he, as a well-read man, would be familiar with the classic literary passage furnishing a kind of text for his admonition. Certainly, there are verbal and imaginative similarities between his account of the amenities of urban life and the poet's:

Columella: *theatrum* and *circus*, *popina*, *lupanaria*, *otium*, *alea*.

Horace: *ludi* (15), *uncta popina* (21), *meretrix tibicina* (25), *fornix* (21), *balnea* (15).

However this question may be answered, it is nonetheless clear that Horace's action in appointing an urban slave as *vilicus* is at direct variance with established farming practice as described by Columella. Horace appears to have been a mere amateur so far as the cultivation of his farm was concerned, for he failed to realize that the income from the farm was largely dependent upon the skill and training of the resident overseer.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Portorium: Étude sur l'organisation douanière chez les Romains, surtout à l'époque du Haut-Empire. By S. J. DE LAET. Brugge (België): De Tempel, 1949. (Price not given.)

We are ill provided with detailed studies of Rome's revenues, for even works like the *Economic Survey* of Tenney Frank or Rostovtzeff's social and economic histories can deal with revenues only as part of a wider subject matter. On indirect taxes the standard work is still that of Cagnat, though it appeared in 1882. M. De Laet has now produced a study of the *portoria* which will undoubtedly, as he hopes, supersede what Cagnat wrote about them. What occupies only 152 pages of Cagnat's book now has devoted to it this large book of more than five hundred pages. The whole production is lavish and scholars will be grateful to the University of Ghent which has sponsored it.

De Laet's book falls into three main parts, dealing respectively with the regal and republican periods, the early Empire and the late Empire. Within each part the author follows much the same plan as Cagnat, dealing first, after some introductory matter, with the location of the customs bureaux, then with the administration and scope of the taxes and finally with the machinery for settling disputes. There are seven maps and (a feature entirely omitted by Cagnat) three indexes—"Index des personnes," "Index géographique et ethnographique," and "Index des institutions et fonctions."

Here is a book which quite obviously cannot be ignored by Roman historians. The fragmentary state of the evidence naturally leaves room for disagreement and not all De Laet's conclusions will find acceptance. But the evidence is so fully quoted for every statement that it is possible to test the accuracy of those conclusions at once. In particular the author deserves the gratitude of all scholars in this field for having made available new evidence and fresh theories which have appeared in publications not easily accessible.

Far the largest and most valuable portion is that dealing with the early Empire. This is not only because more new evidence has become available, since Cagnat, on this period than on the other two but also because the author himself is obviously much more at home there. The section on the regal and republican periods is little more than an introduction to the central section and the account of the late Empire fills less than thirty pages. We may quote, as illustrating the advances De Laet has made on Cagnat, his long and detailed discussion of the location of the customs bureaux, which occupies, altogether, about one third of the book. In Gaul, for instance, Cagnat (in his article in Daremberg and Saglio) identified 12 bureaux, but De Laet has identified 25. Figures for Illyricum are, Cagnat 33, De Laet 68: for Africa, Cagnat 3, De Laet 15: for Spain, Cagnat 0, De Laet 7, and so on. Naturally some of these identifications are tentative and others quite speculative. I feel doubts, for instance, about the interesting theory on *Portus Lirenensis* (p. 130 f.), about *Ilipa* (p. 287 f.), and several other *stationes*, and other readers will no doubt challenge other identifications. But the full citation of the evidence in all cases leaves no room for complaint on this score.

Of De Laet's more general conclusions some seem to me to be well founded, but others to lack foundation. It is good to find Tiberius given credit for reorganising the *portoria*, as part, in De Laet's view, of a wider financial reform. I like, too, the account of the changes which occurred in the methods of collecting the customs dues—first by *societates*, then by *conductores* and finally by procurators. Incidentally, prosopographers will welcome the lists of *conductores*, procurators, and their assistants, though they would have been easier to use if they had been collected in an appendix. On the vexed question of the *quattuor publica Africae* (p. 247 f.) I find De Laet convincing, as against Rostovtzeff and others,

in his view that they were four different taxes rather than four customs areas. I think, too, that he proves his point that the customs bureaux were placed rather at natural frontiers than on the actual provincial boundaries.

Because this book is likely to prove so useful, it is necessary to point out certain defects whose removal would make it still more useful. In spite of its thoroughness, it appears to have been produced somewhat hurriedly. Misprints and minor errors are fairly frequent, but much more serious is the inadequacy—almost the absence—of the cross-referencing. Over and over again one finds “plus haut” or “plus loin,” “infra” or “supra,” even “dans un chapitre ultérieur,” as the only clue to earlier or subsequent treatment of a subject. The indexes are good but they do not always enable the reader to trace a reference, especially as there is no index of subjects or of ancient authorities. There are defects, too, in the citation of modern works. The bibliography is copious—almost too copious, for it lists, for example, all three editions of Rostovtzeff’s *SEHR*, though only the German edition is cited in the notes. The only important omission I have noticed is that of Pais’ article on the *Quadragesima Galliarum* in *Dalle guerre puniche a Cesare Augusto*, II, 727 f. It is all the more strange, therefore, to find many works listed again as fully, in some cases even more fully, in the notes, where an abbreviated form would suffice. (See, e.g., p. 46, n. 3; p. 175, n. 1; etc.) Had the author revised his work more thoroughly he would, I feel sure, have made many other economies in the footnotes. Some are unnecessary (e.g., p. 102, n. 5.) or of doubtful relevance (e.g., p. 120, n. 4), while very many others could have been pruned heavily without loss of value. Some of the space thus saved could have been used for an adequate list of abbreviations. The one given is quite inadequate. Nor is it correct to say (p. 23, n. 1.) that all the periodicals for which abbreviations are used are listed in *L’année philologique*. As examples of abbreviations not explained I quote *AEM*, *JOAI*, *PIR*, *RBPH* (*sic*), *TAM*.

I conclude with some detailed criticisms which can only be briefly stated here. It will be noticed that they mainly concern the re-

publican period, on which I find De Laet much less reliable than on the early Empire.

P. 19.—Though *portus* is, of course, used as a synonym for *portorium*, are the Cicero passages quoted in n. 3 good examples of this?

P. 49 f.—The discussion of the origin of *portoria* is unconvincing. It is true that Mommsen had a passion for systematisation and also that he frequently used as evidence about early Rome texts belonging to a much later period. Nevertheless, his theory seems to me better supported than De Laet’s. Nor does the latter avoid at least one of Mommsen’s faults. In notes 2 and 3 on p. 50 he quotes Cicero as his authority for two different meanings of *vectigal* at two different periods.

P. 55 f.—The evidence for republican *portoria* in Italy is adequately quoted (though Livy XXX in n. 6. p. 57 should be Livy XL) but it does not justify the conclusion (p. 58) that the bureaux included “important commercial centres in the interior.”

P. 59.—The well known passage of Cicero *Ad Att.* 2. 16. 1 is wrongly interpreted here and again in note 7 on p. 114. The main reference there is not to the Lex Caecilia but to the agrarian law of Caesar. Metellus’ law is mentioned only incidentally and by inference. Nor are the *boni* in this passage only the equites. They are more probably the conservative senators who were concerned about the state revenues.

P. 59, n. 6.—Appian *Civ.* 5. 4. and Plut. *Caes.* 48. 1 should be deleted. They refer to Caesar’s measures of 48 B.C.

P. 65, n. 1.—There is an almost certain reference to *portoria* in Spain in Plutarch *Apophth.* *Scip. Min.* 15. and De Laet himself (p. 70) rightly assumes their existence in Macedonia from Livy 39. 24.

P. 71.—The evidence quoted on Dyrrhachium is insufficient to bear the interpretation put on it. These *portoria* were probably local and Piso’s exactions were plainly irregular.

P. 73, n. 3.—Cicero *Ad Quint.* 1. 1. 33 suggests only that the *publicani* of Italy were concerned mainly with *portoria*.

P. 75, n. 3.—There is no evidence for the alleged fusion of the Asiatic *societates*. Even that of the Bithynian *societates* is assumed on dubious grounds.

P. 84 f.—The reasoning here is curious. In *Ad Att.* 5. 15. 4 the plural *magistri* surely implies more than one *societas*? In any case, P. Terentius Hispanus was *promagister scripturae* in

Bithynia, not in Cilicia. (Incidentally, he appears on p. 105, n. 3 as "*promagister des douanes*.")

The exemption under the Lex Antonia de Termessibus was from local taxes and so had nothing to do with a "*société rivale*."

Cicero's remark that the *societas Bithynica* . . . *constat . . . ex ceteris societatibus* surely means no more than that its members were also members of the other companies and is no proof of any fusion of *societales*.

This whole section on Bithynia is without basis, for if we take *portus* in Cicero *Leg. ag. 2. 40* to mean simply "harbours," as we probably should considering the context, there is no evidence for *portoria* in Bithynia at all.

P. 89 f.—Of the examples of municipal dues quoted four places—Ambracia, Rhodes, Delos and Thisbe—were not in the Roman Empire at the times referred to.

P. 100, n. 3.—The Lex Caecilia was not "*votée par le Sénat*."

P. 114, n. 3.—In Livy 35. 41. 10 and 41. 27. 5–12 the reference is to *porticus* not *portus*.

P. 127 f.—The Strabo passage is made to bear a heavy burden of inference—the existence of a customs area on the Atlantic coast with bureaux at Bordeaux and Boulogne. Later, it supports even wider assumptions. (See p. 163, n. 7; p. 245, n. 2; p. 269; p. 315—in all of which cases cross-references are needed.) Does not De Laet read far too much into it?

P. 161.—It is hardly correct to include Ostia as a *statio* of the Gallie customs on the same basis as those actually in the customs area. Surely *CIL*, XIV, 4708 merely indicates Ostia as the headquarters of the customs administration of both Gaul and Spain?

P. 194, n. 4.—Cagnat does defend his view of *CIL*, III, 4288 in note 8, p. 14.

P. 258, n. 3.—Where is the inscription analysed—on p. 409?

P. 289.—I can find no further discussion of the inscriptions on the Monte Testaccio jars except on p. 292, where no proof is offered of De Laet's theory. It is wrong to say that the inscriptions quoted in n. 2 on p. 290 mention Cordova "*comme statio du portorium*," unless we accept that theory.

P. 371.—The assumption that the tribute of other provinces than Asia was farmed in Rome is so contrary to the usual view as to require much stronger support than it gets here.

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Atthis: The Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens.

By FELIX JACOBY. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1949. Pp. viii+432. \$9.00.

In this bulky volume, of which pages 1–225 are text and pages 227–400 are notes in smaller type, Professor Jacoby discusses some problems connected with the *Atthides*, the work of those local historians of Athens who "from the closing years of the fifth century B.C. down to the end of the Chremonidean War in 263/2 B.C. narrated the history of Athens and of Athens alone." The book is not complete within itself, because it does not contain the text of the fragments of these authors. These fragments are now available in Volume IIIB of Jacoby's *F. gr. Hist.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950); but before this volume appeared readers were still dependent on Müller's *FHG* for the fragments of Cleidemus, Androtion, Philochorus, and all the writers of *Atthides* except Hellanicus, whose fragments were included in *F. gr. Hist.*, Vol. I. In *F. gr. Hist.*, IIIB there are many fragments which are not included in Müller's collection, notably the quotations of Philochorus and Androtion in Didymus' *Commentary on Demosthenes*; but the commentary, Vol. IIb, has not yet appeared. In *Atthis* Jacoby cites the fragments by the numbers given them in his new collection, but adds a Concordance, giving the numbers in *FHG* and the sources of all fragments, both old and new.

Jacoby has not made things easy for his readers in this book. They will constantly have to refer to the text of *F. gr. Hist.* They will also soon find out that his argument is quite unintelligible unless they are faithful in reading the notes at the back of the book. These latter are long and highly argumentative and the reader is sometimes sent on a hunt through a series of notes before he finds the bibliographical details that he needs; sometimes again, when he is looking for support of some statement in the text, a note disappoints him with a reference to the commentary in the forthcoming volume of *F. gr. Hist.* Furthermore the language and style in which the whole book is written leave much to be desired. It may seem ungenerous to criticize the English of a distinguished German scholar who, like other refugees from continental Europe, has

bravely undertaken the task of writing a book in a language that is not his native tongue. Others, no doubt, besides himself, who have been responsible for revision and editing of the manuscript, should share the blame for its shortcomings in style and idiom. Many of its infelicities will be familiar to those who know the difficulties of translating from German and the traps in which a German writer of English is commonly ensnared. A preference for abstract expression leads to awkwardness and obscurity; parenthetic phrases interrupt the flow of sentences and are often wrongly placed; word order is sometimes faulty and some awkward adverbs are used, e.g., "determinedly." Some words are constantly misused; "fixation" is apparently intended as a translation of *Feststellung* (note "chronological fixation" on page 114 instead of "dating") and "great historiography" is an impossible expression as the antithesis of local history; both these expressions occur repeatedly and there are others which readers will find equally objectionable. Even less excusable is the length of the paragraphs, which often extend over two whole pages; indeed there is one which begins on page 60 and continues to page 66. Authors and readers who know the magnificent traditions of the Clarendon Press will be surprised that it has presented this book to the public without more drastic editorial revision.

In view of the difficulty which many readers will experience in attempting to digest this book, a reviewer is under special obligation to offer a summary of its principal arguments. Jacoby does not start at the beginning, with exposition and discussion of the ancient evidence. He starts with Wilamowitz and his theory of the origin of the *Atthides*. Wilamowitz, in his discussion of the sources of Aristotle's *Athenaion politeia*, tried to go back beyond individual *Atthides* to an *Ur-Atthis*, supposedly written by an unknown author about 380 B.C. who took his information from an unpublished chronicle maintained in Athens, perhaps since the days of Solon, by the Exegetae (*Aristoteles und Athen*, I, chap. viii). After a brief paragraph in which he outlines this theory (p. 3), Jacoby proceeds to attack it, and his whole book is really "contra Wilamowitzium." He even insists on believing

that this theory is "the accepted view," because, though rejected or passed over by some writers, it has never been satisfactorily refuted. He is not satisfied to dismiss the theory as an unfounded conjecture, but offers different answers to the various questions that the theory of Wilamowitz was supposed to solve. Accordingly he poses three questions and devotes about one third of his book to answering each one.

The first question is: What is known about the interests of the Exegetae, their activity, and their historical development in Athens? He collects the evidence from inscriptions and literature about the various kinds of Exegetae (he decides in favour of three distinct boards), but almost before he begins to examine the evidence he has made his conviction clear that they were all concerned exclusively with ritual and could not have played any part in keeping of historical records. He offers an interesting reconstruction of the history of the *πυθόχρηστοι Ἐξηγηταί*, arguing that they were first set up in Athens by Solon. Students of the subject will now want to consult J. H. Oliver's recent book on the Exegetae, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law* (Baltimore, 1950), and they will find that Oliver does not accept the restoration of IG², I, 77 on which Jacoby relies for an important part of his theory.

The second question is: What can be known about the character of individual *Atthides* and what traits do their authors possess in common? Jacoby rejects vigorously the idea that any of them could have been an Exegetes (except Cleidemus who wrote an *Exegetikon*); Proclus apparently called Philochorus *ἐξηγητῆς τῶν πατρίων* (Schol. Hesiod *Opp.* 808 = Frag. 190, Jacoby; 183, Müller), but Jacoby insists that this term is used in a general, not a technical sense. In fact he believes that their writing always had a distinct political, even propagandist character, and that is why the period in which they wrote corresponds with the closing period of Athenian political life—its struggle to maintain its freedom against Macedon from 359 to 262 B.C. He believes that all the *Atthidographers* organized their work in the same way, recording events for each king-year and archon-year from the very be-

ginning of the Athenian monarchy down to their own time; and that the form of their work was established by Hellanicus of Lesbos, the first author of a local history of Athens, not by the Anonymus of Wilamowitz.

The third question is: What sources, documentary or otherwise, did they or could they use? Again rejecting the idea of a chronicle kept by the Exegetae, Jacoby argues that the only document for early times could be the archon list, of which a fragment was found in the Agora and published by Meritt in *Hesperia*, VIII (1939); that this archon list did not contain any annotations that could serve as foundation for a chronicle; and that oral tradition and existing literature remained the principal source of the Atthidographers.

Stated thus in simplified and dogmatic form these conclusions sound reasonable enough; but this is not to say that they have been proved. As one works one's way through this book, the stages seem to be marked by certain surprisingly confident statements that have not really been established by evidence. The *Atthides* are said to have been written with a political purpose; but their style, so far as we can judge it, seems to have been without character or much life and was never noticed by the ancient critics. They are said to have followed the same chronological scheme from beginning to end of their works; but the only fragments that prove the use of this scheme at all belong to the fifth century or later. Again, how many readers will be convinced that Hellanicus failed to see the importance of Solon—simply because no fragment is preserved referring to Solon? or that Thucydides in his famous complaint about the current version of the tyrannicides was really attacking Hellanicus?

If the positive side of Jacoby's book is not always convincing, the destructive criticism is certainly thorough. It is not always strictly fair; sentences are quoted out of context and even the theory of Wilamowitz is not properly explained before the attack on it begins. Nonetheless it does appear that this famous theory has been definitely laid to rest and that it will not figure in subsequent histories of Greek literature.

Final verdict on this book must be sus-

pended until it can be compared with the commentary in the new volume of *F. gr. Hist.* Despite the copious notes, there is apparently some corroborative material which is withheld from us here. There are also other interesting questions connected with the Atthidographers which, it is hoped, will receive due attention, in addition to those which are discussed in this book.

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Theognis: Poèmes élégiaques. Texte établi et traduit par JEAN CARRIÈRE. Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1948. Pp. 138.

Since the publication of Hudson-Williams' excellent edition of the Theognidea in 1910,¹ few comprehensive studies of the poet have appeared. Omitting articles which treat some particular phase of the Theognidean problem, one can mention as especially praiseworthy the monographs of Felix Jacoby² and Josef Kroll,³ as likewise the useful summary by Aly.⁴ We can welcome, therefore, a fresh study of "the crabbed Megarian"; for the text of Theognis more than that of any Greek poet, perhaps, has been a constant source of difficulty because of the controversy that has revolved about the question of the source and character of his elegies ever since the time of Camerarius.⁵ It is safe to say that no two writers agree about the number and identity of the poems that can be regarded as the genuine work of Theognis and those which may belong to another period or other periods.

The present volume by M. Carrière presents

1. T. Hudson-Williams, *The Elegies of Theognis and Other Elegies Included in the Theognidean Sylloge* (London, 1910).

2. Felix Jacoby, "Theognis," *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, X (1931), 90-180. Cf. my review in *AJP*, LVII (1936), 221-24.

3. Josef Kroll, "Theognis-Interpretationen," *Philol.*, Suppl. XXIX, Heft I (1936), 1-319.

4. F. Aly in *RE*, 1934, s.v. "Theognis."

5. For an historical survey of the Theognis controversy, see the reviewer in *TAPA*, LVIII (1927), 170-98; Jean Carrière, *Theognis de Mégare, Étude sur le recueil élégiaque attribué à ce poète* (Bordas. No date is printed but p. 292 indicates that the book was completed in May, 1946. So far as I know, it was not printed until 1949).

a carefully studied text with translation, a short introduction, which summarizes the author's views regarding the Theognidean corpus, and at the end a brief critical commentary, which discusses various questions of text, the literary character and the authenticity of selected poems or groups of poems. An adequate apparatus criticus is printed at the bottom of each page of the text, and the French translation accompanies the text on the opposite page.

The reviewer has encountered some difficulty in that only recently M. Carrière has published a second and even more substantial volume on Theognis,⁶ which presents his views on text and poems in much greater detail. I have had time to examine the larger book rather hastily; but since repeated reference to this second work is found in the volume now under review, we can assume that the latter is expected to stand on its own feet.

The basis of the Theognis text is a single manuscript of the tenth century, the Mutinensis (designated A; Parisinus, Suppl. gr., 388, Theognis being found on folios 46^r-75^v) Derived ultimately from this are two fragmentary manuscripts (O and K) of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, respectively. Carrière bases his text mainly on A and O. The great importance of A is seen from the fact that it not only contains the poems assigned to Book I, with a few exceptions, but likewise is our sole source for the poems in Book II. Carrière summarizes his conception of the manuscripts on page twenty. Of great help is the anthology of Stobaeus, which, likewise belonging to the tenth century, often records poems standing in the same order as does A. The *editio princeps* of Aldus appeared in 1495.

M. Carrière has suggested only a few readings of his own. In vs. 309 he would restore εἶναι of A, in the belief that vss. 309-10 are a fragment and the infinitive is dependent upon some preceding introductory verb (cf. pp. 105 f.). In vs. 1257 he would read Κίμμεριοι, because the Cimmerians continued for a long time to be wanderers, hence became proverbial as such. Welcker's ἱκτινοῖσι is, however, a better solution of the disturbed text and was adopted by Hudson-Williams. The enigmatical

poems in vss. 1209-10 and 1211-16 are explained as epitaphs spoken by the deceased, but they appear rather to belong to the riddle (γρίφος), perhaps recited at a banquet.⁷

M. Carrière thinks that the "seal" of authenticity may be Cynus but that such is not always the case. Herein he agrees with Hudson-Williams. In a number of the poems, vss. 453-56, 599-602, 1135-50, he discovers the influence of the fable, which seems very likely. His keen observation that vss. 861-64 may be a γρίφος spoken by the moon is attractive, even if the question can scarcely be decided. On the other hand, he believes that vss. 753-56 represent the close of the genuine poems of Theognis and that vs. 757 begins a second series, which is not the work of Theognis. Like many critics, he regards Book II as non-Theognidean. The repeated verses are explained as due to the fact that our present text is the result of a fusion of two different collections which were different in content.⁸ By reference to his second (1949) volume on Theognis it appears that M. Carrière regards the Theognidea as representing (1) certain original poems by Theognis; (2) an Athenian version of Theognis, which embraces non-Theognidean material; (3) an Alexandrian revision; (4) a Byzantine synthesis; (5) certain final additions, to which most of the erotic poems belong. In the greater part of this argument, however, the author is only adopting the earlier views of various critics.

Although M. Carrière discovers many non-Theognidean elements in the poems, he is forced to admit (p. 13) that in vocabulary, versification, and poetic inspiration there is little that is characteristic of Alexandrianism but much that reflects Homer, Solon, Simonides, and Evenus. In other words, it is in the work of Theognis' contemporaries, his predecessors even, and in his immediate followers that we find the source of his own extension.⁹ Such a view, unexpected as it is in a critic of

7. Cf. the reviewer in *AJP*, L (1929), 354-56.

8. See Carrière, *Theognis de Mégare* (note 5, above), pp. 38-136.

9. A good test of this fact can be made by reading the selections and the excellent commentary in T. Hudson-Williams, *Early Greek Elegy* (London, 1926). See, in particular, the notes on Callinus, Archilochus, Mimnermus, Xenophanes, Tyrtaeus, and Solon.

6. See the preceding note.

M. Carrière's type, is the only sound one that can be drawn from the poems themselves. It is from the larger volume of 1949, of course, that one must learn the author's final view of the Theognidea. The present volume is mainly text and translation, but it whets the appetite for the larger work.

In his translation M. Carrière confines himself to prose, which is the normal method to be followed, at least in most of the poems. Such early Greek writers as Tyrtaeus, Solon, and some others, who resorted to verse, were merely following the practice of their predecessors and contemporaries, for prose was not yet born. Nonetheless, there is little that is highly poetic in their verses, and a dignified prose rendering is usually adequate to present even their most sober teachings. In the case of Theognis, such verses as 237-52, 511-22, 670-82, 757-68, 773-88, 903-30, 1197-1202 attain to the greatest poetic heights, but this is the result of their sober earnestness and their strong emotional appeal rather than of any striking poetic imagery that they may contain. Like M. Carrière, J. M. Edmonds employed a prose translation in his Loeb edition of Theognis (1931), and J. Banks followed the same practice in his Bohn library rendering (1914). Some of the shorter poems can be turned into verse with considerable finesse, as has recently been done by Dorothy Burr Thompson.¹⁰ Since any translation is at best only the interpretation given to the original by the translator, and since many of the Theognidea are cryptic in meaning if not actually fragmentary, a translation will vary according to the views of the individual translator. M. Carrière frequently appends a note to his translation to explain or defend his rendering when the text is uncertain or the poem fragmentary. His translation, if not spirited, is carefully composed and generally reliable.

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10. Dorothy Burr Thompson, *Swans and Amber, Some Early Greek Lyrics Freely Translated and Adapted* (Toronto, 1948); for Theognis, pp. 152-67. C. M. Bowra, *Early Greek Elegiacs* (Cambridge, 1938), pp. 139-70, gives numerous English translations in verse that well reproduce the tone of the original. See too J. H. Frere in his *Theognis restitutus* (1874).

De Lycophronis tragici carmine Sibyllino. By THADDAEUS SINKO. (Extract from "Eos: Commentarii Societatis Philologicae Polonorum," Vol. XLIII [1948-49], Fasc. 1, 3-39). Breslau: University, Institute of Classical Philology, 1949.

Cassandra's λόξος μύθος continues to arouse the perplexity its author intended, and the problems which worried Theon and Charles James Fox still invite new solutions. The following is briefly Mr. Sinko's interpretation of *Alexandra*, lines 1226-31 (Γένους δὲ πάπων...) and lines 1446-50 (ὦ δὴ μὲθ' ἔκτην...): The descendants of the prophetess who are to win γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης σκῆπτρα καὶ μοναρχίαν are—as everyone has seen—the Romans. But the phrase just quoted has no specific import. The author wishes merely to describe the Aeneadae at the time of the war with Pyrrhus, when they controlled the area indicated in lines 1270-80—"cuius regni partes cum ad mare adiaceant, domini sceptrā terrae marisque tenere dicuntur" (p. 25). In the later passage Mr. Sinko reverts to a modified form of Reichard's view (in his edition of 1788). The "Chalastrean lion" is Alexander the Great, but the "wolf of Gadara" is a "persona moralis" (whatever this may mean), who "tamquam Ianus duos habet vultus" (p. 39). In so far as the "unique wrestler" (line 1447) is to join battle with him, he is Pyrrhus (and the wrestler is M. Curius, the victor of the battle of Beneventum); as Pyrrhus, too, he is to yield σκύλων ἀπρχὰς τὰς δορικτήτους. But in so far as the Romans are to come εἰς διαλλαγὰς with him, he is Ptolemy Philadelphus. Like Wilamowitz, Mr. Sinko thinks these lines conceal a genuine prophecy, for he detects in them the reference to a compact between Rome, victorious over Pyrrhus, and Ptolemy II, by which they are to agree to share the sovereignty over land and sea—*vaticinium numquam explendum*.

It will be seen that this interpretation assumes the *Alexandra* to be the work of the tragic poet of the third century, a view for which Dr. Arnaldo Momigliano has recently mustered an impressive, if not perhaps wholly convincing, case.¹ Unfortunately, the present

¹ Cf. *JRS*, XXXII (1942), 53-64: "Terra marique"; *CQ*, XXXIX (1945), 49-53: "The Locrian Maidens and the date of Lycophron's *Alexandra*."

essay makes no addition of any substance to the arguments already adduced; and the unlikely character of its interpretation of the controversial lines is, if anything, calculated to confirm one's belief that K. Ziegler, in his admirably balanced survey in *RE*, XIII, 2 (1927), cols. 2316-81, has put forward the solution which leaves fewest difficulties.

Far from smoothing away difficulties, Mr. Sinko's theory creates new ones. First, there is the contradiction in his treatment of line 1229, which receives a modest interpretation in its own context, where, if it implied real sovereignty, it must be sovereignty for the Romans alone; but which is brought into the discussion of line 1448 to support the view that this speaks of an agreement for a shared hegemony by land and sea. Mr. Sinko has misunderstood the Greek (like many before him): the words *πόντου τε καὶ γῆς* must go with *συμβαλὼν ἀλκὴν δορός*, not with *εἰς διαλλαγὰς μολῶν* from which they are separated by *καὶ*. It is the conflicts which are to be by land and sea: of the terms of the *διαλλαγαι* we are told nothing. In fact, it is impossible to take line 1229 as merely a high-flown reference to the well-known fact that Rome possessed a coast line; as Ziegler has conclusively shown, the "sceptre and monarchy" must link up with the *σκήπτρα . . . τῆς πάλαι μοναρχίας* of line 1445. It is of Roman sovereignty the poet is writing, not of a prophetic shared hegemony between Rome and Egypt. Nor is it easy to believe in Alexander's protean successor, metamorphosed from Pyrrhus into Philadelphus, and back again into Pyrrhus within the space of three lines, and with a total disregard for normal syntax.

However, the interpretation of these passages is only part of Mr. Sinko's purpose. Taking up a suggestion of Ziegler, he makes it his main concern to examine the *Alexandra* in a new context, relating it to the continuous Greek Sibylline poems which, *ex hypothesi*, preceded it (p. 6). Unfortunately, these poems have all perished, so that conjecture has to play a large part in defining their character. Here Mr. Sinko's ingenuity does him some disservice. From the time of Heracleides Ponticus tradition knew of several Sibyls about whom various scraps of information were re-

corded. Several pages of this essay are devoted to an attempt at proving that if the same fact is recorded of any two Sibyls, they are to be regarded as identical. Thus Heracleides knew of three: the Phrygian "Artemis," who migrated to Delphi, Herophila of Erythraea, and the Hellespontine Sibyl. But Pausanias 10. 12 declares that Artemis was also called Herophila; and the Hellespontine Sibyl may be a doublet of the Erythraean, patriotically invented by Demetrius of Scepsis. Thus all three Sibyls are reduced to one, the Erythraean, and to her a comprehensive poem is attributed, by combining fragments and allusions associated with the names of various other Sibyls. This is a cardinal error of method. The problem is surely to isolate the tradition about the Sibyls current in the third and second centuries respectively; and this would involve a far more rigorous assessment of the relative value of scraps of information dating from the early Empire.

But to Mr. Sinko almost any statement in an ancient author yields valuable data. Hieronymus associates the Erythraean Sibyl and Eumelus of Corinth as flourishing in the year 744. This means that from the middle of the seventh (read "eighth") century there existed "carmen quoddam continuum sub (Sibyllae) nomine currens," and known to Eumelus. But until we have learnt rather more about the historicity of Eumelus, Hieronymus' statement proves very little. Nor am I convinced by Mr. Sinko's argument that Cassandra is herself to be regarded as a Sibyl (pp. 11-19). True, Suidas records "Cassandra" as one of the names of the Phrygian Sibyl; and according to Pausanias 10. 12 the people of Alexandria Troas attributed the interpretation of Hecuba's dream to Herophila, whereas in Euripides the seer in question is Cassandra. But this tells us nothing relevant to the *Alexandra*, or about any hypothetical Sibylline verses on which it drew; for there is no reason to suppose that the seer of the *Alexandra* is a Sibyl. In lines 1464-65 she is compared to two Sibyls; but if this means that she is one herself (and surely it means the opposite!), then line 1466 makes her a Sphinx.

It would be easy to give further examples of Mr. Sinko's method, such as his argument that

the famous antithesis between East and West, with which Herodotus introduces his *History*, goes back via the Persian λόγιοι to Persian Sibyls, and consequently that a similar theme ran through the song in praise of Alexander sung by the later Erythraean Sibyl known to Callisthenes; or his belief that the picture of Alexander as a conqueror, a wild beast, a man of thunder and worse, in the Fourth and Eleventh Books of the *Sibylline Oracles* (which probably date to the late first and early third centuries of our era)—“voces Sibyllae Graecae in peius detortae” (p. 35)—justifies the view that this same Erythraean Sibyl celebrated Alexander as the *conciliator utriusque continentis* (on the lines of Plutarch *De Alex. magn. fort. et virt.* 1. 7). But enough has been said to indicate the general character of the essay. It contains a good deal that is attractive, zest and ingenuity. But rigorous self-criticism and some regard for what is after all likely can alone save the practitioner of *Kombinationsforschung* from serious pitfalls. Neither quality is sufficiently in evidence here, with the result that those readers to whom the *Alexandra* is still a Φίλιον répas will be led to the reluctant admission that they have not found their Oedipus in Mr. Sinko.

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Basic Writings of Saint Augustine. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by WHITNEY J. OATES. 2 vols. New York: Random House, 1948. Pp. xl+847; vi+898. \$10.00.

The first volume of this work contains the following treatises of St. Augustine: *The Confessions*, *Soliloquies*, *On the Immortality of the Soul*, *On the Morals of the Catholic Church*, *Concerning the Teacher*, *On the Profit of Believing*, *Concerning the Nature of Good*, *On the Spirit and the Letter*, *On Nature and Grace*, *On the Grace of Christ and on Original Sin*, *The Enchiridion*, *On Grace and Free Will*, *On the Predestination of the Saints*. In addition, there are a Preface, an Introduction on “The Life and Religion of Saint Augustine,” an Appendix consisting of “An Analysis of the Treatise On

Free Will,” and an Index to *The Confessions*. The second volume contains *The City of God* (with omissions from the first ten books), *On the Trinity* (with certain books omitted), and Indexes to these two treatises.

The translations employed are from *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, of which Philip Schaff was the general editor, except that G. G. Leckie's translations of the treatises *On the Immortality of the Soul* and *Concerning the Teacher* have been used. “These versions which are in general of the highest order of excellence have been checked against the original Latin and have been modified in certain respects either to make the version in question more accurate or to modernize the translations where this seemed to be desirable. The notes which appear in Dr. Schaff's edition, which contain references to the Bible and the Apocrypha, have been reproduced in their entirety. [A more complete collection of *testimonia* for *The Confessions* might have been taken from Skutella's edition.] A selection has been made from the remaining notes. . . . A small number of other notes has been added. . . .” Moreover, brief introductory notes have been written for the various treatises (Preface, p. v).

While it would be accepted practice to disagree with the editor's selection, it is difficult to think of one more suitable for a collection of “basic writings.” The arguments of the editor (Introduction, p. xxxvii) for the minor treatises chosen seem entirely cogent. For those who feel uneasy at omissions from *The City of God* and *On the Trinity* the editor has the persuasive answer that the inclusion of these two in their entirety would “virtually eliminate the minor treatises” (p. xxxvi). Faced with this alternative there would be few to question his choice, and they would not be those who have found that much of St. Augustine's best thought is to be found in the less well known treatises.

The translations as a whole are very readable. Many will perhaps prefer one of *The Confessions* with which they are more familiar, but that is not the fault of this translation. Pilkington's sentences are often too long and his translation seems more dated than those of

most of the other treatises. But this dated quality comes largely from the traditional use of "Thou" and "Thee" in addressing God, since the whole of *The Confessions* is really an extended prayer. One may doubt whether such forms belong in a modern English version of this work. Not only do they give rise to such expressions as "Thou dealedst" and "Thou mockedst," but they give the treatise an archaic quality that is foreign to the original. There are, to be sure, difficulties in the way of eliminating these forms, since they seem to be required in the Scriptural quotations in which the work abounds, and, if in these, what of paraphrases and connecting passages? It is hard to draw the line in a plausible way, as Sheed found in his more recent translation, though it is commendable that he tried. Until there are modern versions of Scripture in general use, translators of *The Confessions* will face an almost insurmountable difficulty on this point.

Professor Oates has written a very clear and helpful introduction, in which he gives the salient facts of St. Augustine's life and environment, the chief sources of influence on his thought, and the outstanding characteristics of his philosophy and theology. Readers approaching St. Augustine through these volumes will find most helpful the editor's emphasis on the organic unity of the religious and philosophic elements in the treatises, a point which can be a real obstacle to one who does not realize from the outset that at all times St. Augustine is essentially a Christian thinker rather than a philosopher in the usually more restricted sense of the term. The content of the introduction is ideally suited to this kind of work, and it is written with considerable grace and urbanity.

On a few points it is possible to take exception with the editor. For example, Professor Oates distinguishes between "open" and "closed" systems of thought, placing St. Augustine's philosophy among the "open" systems, like that of Plato, and contrasting it with those of Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas (Introduction, p. x). Although the point he is trying to make is clear, there might be difficulties if we examined this distinction in de-

tail, and indeed Professor Oates recognizes that he is offering "generalizations to which exceptions may well be taken" (p. xi). But among the exceptions there are some important instances, even ones that he would consider basic. Though a "closed" system tends merely "to beget continuators and commentators" (p. x), St. Thomas was able to use Aristotle as one of the main foundations of a new and distinctive philosophy. Besides, whatever may be said of the later Neo-Platonists, it may be questioned whether Plotinus turned the philosophy of Plato into a "closed" system. Surely he has the "wholeness of attitude" that Professor Oates requires (p. xi).

Moreover, in offering a background for the Augustinian distinction between time and eternity, the editor states that "God, or the Demiurge, the Master Craftsman" of the *Timaeus*, "like a Platonic Idea, is, immutable, unchanging, outside of space and time" (p. xxxii). In the passage referred to, Plato is speaking of the intelligible model, not of the "Craftsman"; it is not likely that Professor Oates would wish to identify the two, though some have attempted it. In this whole matter, as in many others, St. Augustine's thought is actually more Neo-Platonic than Platonic, and his debt to Neo-Platonism in general might profitably have received somewhat greater emphasis.

Professor Oates' work will admirably serve the purpose of providing a basic text of St. Augustine in English, and for many years it will initiate sympathetic readers into the wisdom of the "Christian sage."

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The Syntax of the Nominal Forms of the Verb, Exclusive of the Participle, in St. Hilary. By RICHARD B. SHERLOCK. ("Catholic University of America Patristic Studies," Vol. LXXVI.) Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1947. Pp. xix+365. Price not stated.

Too many studies of Latin syntax lack conviction, which is just as necessary in grammar as in theology. On page 43 of the present study

we are told yet once more that "opinions conflict" about the "primitive meaning" and voice of the gerundive, but if the author has any opinion of his own he has carefully concealed it. In grammar, as in astronomy, the evidence is never clear cut. Opinions differ about whether the earth is flat, or whether it goes round the sun. The evidence that neither of these opinions is correct is cogent; the evidence in support of the contrary opinion specious. So it is with the gerundive. Not to have an opinion at all is to be like the Laodicean rector of Al Azhar in Lord Cromer's day; he, Cromer tells, never thought it worth his while to make up his mind about whether the sun went round the earth or the earth round the sun.

At the other extreme, Sherlock's own comment (p. 109), that ingenuity goes a long way in making "distinctions" in matters of syntax, is a shrewd thrust.

The assembly of passages to illustrate Hilary's use of gerund and gerundive, of the "periphrastic" passive, of the infinitive (with and without subject accusative), and of the supine, must be as complete as human endeavor can make it. Here and there a "discovery" emerges, as for example (p. 122), the announcement that Jerome was not the first prose writer to use the perfect infinitive active as a substantive. Hofmann, citing Wölfflin *ALL*, III, 89, is cited on this point. But their point is the governance of the infinitive by a preposition, like Ovid's *praeter amasse*; and since Sherlock, belying his celebrated namesake, has not detected (pp. 128-29) any example of the perfect infinitive so governed, I presume that there are none, and Jerome remains in possession. Clearly Hofmann's sentence beginning "Was die Infin. selbst betrifft . . ." which is concerned only with distinguishing pres. (act. and pass.) inf. and perf. inf. *when dependent upon a preposition*, has been misunderstood. Not only that; when Hofmann himself is wrong, Sherlock keeps him company. But Hofmann is at times a poor Dr. Watson. The statement that the inf. with an attribute (*illud . . . iucundum . . . nihil agere*) does not appear before the younger Pliny is repeated by Sherlock from Hofmann, who repeated it from Wölfflin. Surely one of them might have re-

membered Cicero's *totum hoc philosophari*, and even if they had not, it is in Roby (§ 1355). Or if a distinction is to be made between pronominal adjectives and others (as apparently in Kühner-Stegmann, cited by Sherlock), the distinction must be stated, though I cannot see wherein the force of it lies. Pronominal adjectives differ from other adjectives in declension, but not in syntax as attributes—only as predicates. Of the latter, however, Latin has the merest vestige (*alius* "as well"). On top of all this, *tōtus*, it is to be observed, is no pronominal adjective from the historical point of view, but the participle of a lost **toyeo*; even *tōtus* and *quotumus* are late derivatives of *tōt* and *quot*.

P. 21.—Sherlock is by no means alone in declaring that the reason for the avoidance of the gen. plu. of the gerundive was a dislike of the repeated *-orum* or *-arum*. But nearly every page of Latin shows this ending repeated, and the explanation for the preference of the gerund is still to seek. Ambiguity of gender is alleged when the object of the gerund is a neuter adjective or pronoun; and in the oldest Latin there would have been also an ambiguity of number and case in such a situation, which may have had something to do with fixing the idiom. At all events Hilary's usage does not differ from Cicero's.

P. 59.—The misplaced *either* is becoming as common as the misplaced negative.

P. 78.—For *-in* read *in*.

P. 110.—*crucifige blasphemum* means "crucify the blasphemer." So *TLL*, s.v. *blasphemus*.

Pp. 124 ff.—The extension in the use of the infinitive, *posse* "power," *uiuere* "life," though not peculiar to Hilary, is noteworthy. Keltic has the opposite procedure, and derives its infinitives from old verbal nouns; and Hilary was *Gallus ipse et Pictavis genitus*.

Pp. 149 ff.—This discussion of *coepe* with the infinitive is commendable. As a substitute for the future tense the usage, like that of *debeo* with infinitive (pp. 157-58) was abortive (except in Dacia; the modern Rumanian future is compounded with *debeo*), and it is curious that Hilary uses it so little (8 times; *debeo* 3 times; *habeo* twice; cf. *incipere* 6 times; but *posse* 41 times; perhaps *solere*, see p. 175) in the future sense.¹

1. Even old Latin has *uolo* with inf. in this sense (15 times in Hilary). In passing, I observe that Sherlock constantly uses "since" (e.g., "Since Suetonius") in the sense of "after," which is established usage only when "since" refers to a specified date. German *seit* has the meaning ascribed to *since* by Sherlock, but otherwise *since* is properly "after that" (O.E. *sīð* "after," and *don, ðan* instrum. of the demonstr. "that," with adverbial *-es*).

Pp. 208-316.—The length of this section, on the accusative and infinitive, is indication enough of the vigor of this highly literary construction in Hilary, who employs it after a large number of verbs (227 in all, according to Sherlock), many of which but not all are so construed in classical prose. This notwithstanding the fact that clauses introduced by *quod* or *quia* had already begun to supplant the classical idiom in late Latin. On the other hand (pp. 317-18), the supine is all but gone (no example of *-um*, *-ui* and *-u* three times each).

P. 317.—For *Peregrinatio* read *Peregrinatio*. The name of its writer was Egeria, not Aetheria (see *Lib. Gloss.* CE 377). This was first pointed out a quarter of a century ago, but established error dies hard.

Readers of Hilary who are interested in his Latin but do not seek detail may find the twenty-odd pages of summary and conclusions that end this book of some use.

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Ancilla to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers: A Complete Translation of the Fragments in Diels, "Fragmente der Vorsokratiker." By KATHLEEN FREEMAN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948. Pp. xii+162. \$3.50.

The aim of this book is the commendable one of providing an English translation of the Pre-Socratic fragments for "students of philosophy who have no Greek" and "those who do read Greek but cannot spare the time necessary for a thorough examination of the originals" (dust jacket); but it is only with strong reservations that the book in its present form can be recommended to such persons.

One cannot ask for the Greek text of the fragments; this book is to be used along with Diels. Perhaps it is not so unreasonable to wish for a selection from the A-material ("*Leben und Lehre*"), which in many chapters—perhaps in most—contains more instruction than the actual fragments. This book has nothing from chapter 14 (Pythagoras) or chapter 58 (The Pythagorean School), and nothing on Zeno's paradoxes. But here there are omissions even from the genuine fragments—Gorgias' passage on being and not-being, the *Encomium of Helen*, and the *Defense of Palamedes* (given

in summary); Prodicus' *Choice of Heracles*, the Anonymus Iamblichi, and the *Dissoi Logoi*.

Frequently one needs more context than is supplied. For example, at Heraclitus 63-66 the connexion of the fragments and the very meaning of some is lost by omission of the explanatory material. The immediate context of fragments (as given by Diels) is more often paraphrased than translated, and is frequently omitted. Often, because of the omission of intervening explanatory material, separated passages are printed as if they were continuous. Textual supplements to verbal fragments, paraphrase or translation of contextual material, and explanatory phrases added by the translator are all indicated in the same way (italics within parentheses). Source references are only occasionally given. There is no easy way of referring from this book to the same author's *The Pre-Socratic Philosophers* (to which this book is ancillary).

Greater consistency is desirable in the treatment of technical terms. For example, Heraclitus' *ἐνός, κοινός* is translated "universal law," "common," and "universal" in 2, "general (universal)" in 80, "common" in 89, 113, and 114, and "general" in 103. Inconsistency in the use of capitals is particularly disturbing in Parmenides and Melissus. For example, in Parm. 2. 3, *ἐστιν* is rendered "IT IS"; in 8. 2 it becomes "(What IS) IS."

But for any kind of serious study based on a work like this, the prime requisite is of course accuracy. In brief fragments, often obscurely worded and without context, sense skates perilously close to the edge of nonsense. Miss Freeman has courageously faced the many problems of interpretation, in a conscientious effort to produce a version that would be at once readable and exact. This attempt is to a large degree successful; and one feels all the more disappointment at the number of errors that have been allowed to creep into the book.

An incomplete check has revealed the complete omission of a word or phrase in the following passages: Orpheus 17. 7, 18. 7, 18. 9, 19. 3; Cleostratus 1. 3; Pherecydes 6; Xenophanes 1. 10, 1. 22; Heraclitus 10, 37, 57, 72; Parmenides 1. 20, 2. 7, 8. 19, 8. 23, 8. 53; Melissus 2 *ad fin.*; Empedocles 27. 3, 33, 137. 1, 160, 161; Philolaus 11; Anaxagoras 8; Diog-

enes 4; Democritus 173, 278; Antiphon 44 (at Frag. A, col. 3, ll. 15-18), 49, 51.

At many points the accuracy of the translation may be questioned. In the following selection, dogmatically expressed because of space limitations, larger questions of interpretation are omitted; many of these are discussed in the companion volume. Orpheus 13. 3: The sons of Ouranos are called Titans not because they "have been punished by" him, but because they "exact vengeance from" him. 18. 1: For "Queen of the earthly ones" read (as in l. 8) "Queen of the Underworld."—Hesiod 4: For "Epimenides" read "Hesiod."—Pherecydes 2: "For wishing your marriage to take place, I honor you . . ."; insert a comma after "For."—Anaximenes 3: For "so that" read "because."—Heraclitus 2: The phrase "(the universal Law, namely)" should be italicized. 69: The distinction, by Iamblichus, of two kinds of sacrifices is attributed to Heraclitus. 71: "One must remember also" is a phrase of Marcus Aurelius, not of Heraclitus. 84b: For "it is a weariness to the same . . . to toil and to obey," read ". . . to toil for and to obey the same master."—Epicharmus 55-63 should be marked as spurious.—Alcmaeon 4: For "sometimes from an internal cause . . . sometimes from an external cause . . . sometimes in a certain part" read "as regards cause . . . occasion . . . locality."—Parmenides 1. 19: *ἄζωνας* is not "jambes" (in spite of LSJ). 1. 32: Freeman reads *δοκιμῶσ(αι)* with Diels. But Diels translated the infinitive "annehmen" and made the following *ελvai* dependent on it; Freeman has "test," and apparently disregards *ελvai*.—Empedocles 21. 14: For "they become different," read "they become things of various appearance." 75: "of dense composition on the outside and rare within": the adjectives are reversed. 82. 2: The words "which grow on stout limbs" must apply to all the preceding nouns, not just to the last one. 112. 6: For "flowing" read "flowering." 133: "God" should be italicized and bracketed. 151: *ζεῖδωρος* means "zea-giving"; Aphrodite was well-known as a vegetation-goddess, and there is no good reason for assuming that Empedocles, like Plutarch and Hesychius, thought of the word as derived from *ζᾶω*.—Philolaus 6:

For "in which way" read "in whatever way." —Archytas 4: For "especially geometry" read "even geometry."—Diogenes 4: For "had been demonstrated" read "will be demonstrated." —Democritus 11: For "former" read "latter"; also, the last phrase in this fragment should be marked as conjecture. 42: For "to think of duty" read "to think as one ought." 76: For "advantage" read "misfortune" (cf. 54).

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Euripides and Dionysus: An Interpretation of the Bacchae. By R. P. WINNINGTON-INGRAM. Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1948. Pp. viii+190. \$3.50.

"This study is undertaken in the conviction that Euripides saw his aims clearly and controlled them firmly, and that by careful scrutiny of his methods in the play we can understand his aims." The author conducts his scrutiny with an admirable sense of theatrical values and of possible alternatives. He is well acquainted with the work of others and explains why he disagrees or, if he agrees, gives due credit. He provides a running commentary on the play, translating the chorus and interpreting the characters. He discusses the text on occasion in brief footnotes. He makes plot and action, rather than particular speeches a clue to the author's intent. I agree entirely with his conclusion that "the *Bacchae* implies a practical problem . . . how to deal with the forces of emotion, particularly as they are generated in the associations of human beings."

To reach this conclusion it is necessary to reject the view that Euripides speaks through the chorus or through any of his characters. The choruses combine love of beauty and peace with a spirit of revenge and cruelty to foes that makes vivid the power of illusion. Dionysus as a god is treated satirically, but the religion of which he is a symbol is taken seriously as a fact of human life. Pentheus is too emotional himself and too rash to be a tragic hero. Teiresias and Cadmus are the rationalists, and they are made ridiculous. There is

little to choose between the Theban women and the Asiatic chorus as followers of Dionysus. The chorus is once spoken of as following the "party line."

Euripides emerges from this study as a seer who understands and hates Dionysus, the emotional and irrational in life, and who in his presentation of the problem shows the necessity of insight and provides it. There is an appendix on "Euripides the Rationalist," demonstrating that to emphasize the miracles in the play is to miss the total effect. Euripides was probably among the poets who could give Socrates no rational account of their own finest work. Socrates would have known that he could get no answer from a book. If we get answers, they come at least partly from ourselves.

I suspect that Euripides was more interested in theatrical effect than in presenting a problem. Agave's recognition of her son's bloody head, which she has borne in triumph, is the greatest reversal in the Greek theatre, because the audience must simultaneously recover from its own absorption in the victory of Dionysus and discover with Agave the cruelty of the god. The danger of mass movements, "reaching for the stars" and suppressing opposition with fanatical cruelty, has been brought home to us by the later history of Greece and Rome and by our own experience of recent years. It is not likely that the problem appeared so urgent to Euripides and his audience as it does to us. Euripides was himself producing a play in honor of Dionysus and he notoriously depicted passion rather than moral character. Civil war among the feelings does not as a rule lead to a reign of reason.

If Euripides really hated Dionysus, he should have burned his dramas, or at least he should have given the opposition in this play a stronger case. Pentheus is not a martyr like Hippolytus. He is more a stupid tyrant than a great man who makes a mistake. Euripides was developing a new kind of tragedy in which victory produces revulsion of feeling and a frustration of all values. In *Trojan Women* and *Electra* there is no suggestion of a possible practical solution, nor is there in the *Bacchae*.

Is Euripides then "pessimistically ironical,"

as Alan Thompson concludes in his recent book *The Dry Mock* (University of California Press, 1948), and is he confessing the defeat of his own rational idealism? Certainly Dionysus is an ironical character, a smiling tormenter. His face, as made up for a performance at Bryn Mawr in 1935, in which I played Teiresias, gave me a horrid dream of being in the clutches of a servant of Hitler, who had the face of Dionysus, as I recognized when I woke. As an artist, Euripides, I suggest, was ironical in that he was, like any objective artist, detached from his own work when it was done.

He created an imaginary horror that moves most the spectator who has in himself most fear of the irrational. Where there is fear, there is a problem for the thoughtful. Art objectifies the fear and lets reason see it clear. The poet as poet is neither pessimist nor optimist, but realist. The *Bacchae* is a great play and the present exposition could hardly be bettered. The word "irony" does not occur in the index, but occurs twice in the text. More might have been said of other plays, but that would make another book. I found no errors in printing.

L. A. Post

Haverford College

Vom dionysischen Tanz zum komischen Spiel: Die Anfänge der attischen Komödie. By HANS HERTER. (*Darstellung und Deutung: Vorträge und Schriften aus den Geisteswissenschaften und ihren Grenzgebieten*, Heft I.) Iserlohn: Silva-Verlag, 1947. Pp. 60. Price not stated.

Professor Herter of Bonn, who is already known for his work on Greek phallic cults (cf. H.J.R. in *JHS*, LII [1932], 318) and who is now preparing the sixth volume of the history of Greek literature for the Müller-Otto *Handbuch* (W. Schmid, *Gesch. der griech. Literatur*, I, 5 [Munich, 1948], vii), here sets out his views on the origins of Attic comedy. An essay of thirty-eight pages (5-42) is followed by a valuable bibliography (43) and excellent notes (43-59); throughout, the work is distinguished not less by brevity and clarity than by the author's thorough knowledge of his subject and by the commonsense which he brings to bear upon the various problems.

Consideration of the literary and archaeological evidence and of the many theories current about the origin of comedy leads Professor Herter to the conclusion that Attic comedy developed from indigenous Attic ritual, especially the great *kômoi* in which the *ithyphalloi* took part. The nature of these *ithyphalloi* he infers partly from Attic sources and partly from evidence about similar bands of comasts in other places, especially the "Dickbäuche" portrayed on Corinthian vases, the *ithyphalloi*, *phallophoroi*, and *autokabdaloi* described by Semus of Delos and the Laconian *deikelistai* described by Sosibius (Ath. 14. 621 d). He shows that the Athenian *ithyphalloi* were associated with *phallophoroi*, and that they sang songs called *φαλλικά*; comparing the use of *ἐξάρχειν*, *ἐξάρχος* in connection with the laments for Patroclus and Hector in the *Iliad* (e.g., 18. 316, 22. 430, 24. 721), he argues that Aristotle (*Poet.* 1449 a 10-13) was right to derive comedy from *οἱ ἐξάρχοντες τὰ φαλλικά* (he points out that Aristotle neither says nor implies that the derivation was immediate).

Three points occurred to me while I was reading Professor Herter's essay. (1) Is it essential to distinguish as firmly as he does (e.g., p. 6) between the ritual *kômos* and the "Komos der privaten Sphäre"? Do not all *kômoi* tend to follow a ritual pattern (e.g., the German students' *Kneipe* or the Oxford "bump-supper")? (2) Are not the *κυβιστηγῆρε* of *Iliad* 18. 605-6 as important for the meaning of *ἐξάρχειν* as the participants in the laments for Patroclus and Hector? (3) Could not some information be obtained from Dorian and West-Greek lyric, and especially from Alcman's *partheneion* (Frag. 1 Diehl)? Professor Herter himself points out (p. 36) that in the sixth century the Corinthians were ahead of the Athenians in the development of comic "Spiele" (the *kratêr* Louvre E632 shows three actors as well as a chorus, whereas the Athenians were content with a single actor long after the date of the Louvre vase), and it appears possible to accept his conclusion that Attic comedy developed from a ritual native to Attica, and still to maintain that Dorian usages had some direct influence on that development.

However that may be, no one will deny that

professor Herter's work is a masterly summing up of current theories and that his conclusions are firmly based on direct acquaintance with the ancient sources. He has placed students of the origin of drama and of Dionysiac religion deeply in his debt.

J. A. DAVISON

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Die Schule des Aristoteles: Texte und Kommentar, Heft IV: *Demetrios von Phaleron*. Edited by FRITZ WEHRLI. Basel: Benno Schwabe & Co., 1949. Pp. 89. Paper, Swiss Fr. 11.

Four parts of Wehrli's *Die Schule des Aristoteles* have now appeared, and three more are in preparation: *Straton*, *Ariston von Keos*, and *Herakleides von Pontos*. The total number of parts has been variously announced as ten or twelve; the final part will contain a history of the Peripatetic school to the first century B.C. and "ausführliche Indices." The edition of Demetrius of Phalerum follows the general plan laid down in the earlier numbers. Pages 9-44 contain 208 passages bearing on the life and works of Demetrius, a brief bibliography is found on page 47, and the commentary on the fragments fills pages 49-89.

The total number of passages might at first glance seem surprisingly large, inasmuch as Jacoby's edition of Demetrius (*F. gr. Hist.*, II, No. 228, pp. 956-73) contains only eleven *Testimonia* and 52 *Fragmenta*. The difference, however, is not so great as it seems. For one thing, a number of passages that Jacoby mentions only in his commentary (*F. gr. Hist.*, II, Kommentar, pp. 641-53) are quoted in Wehrli's text. Moreover, Wehrli has greatly increased the number of fragments by breaking up his sources into small units and by referring to a single passage under more than one number. The outstanding example is Diogenes Laertius' *Life of Demetrius* (5. 75-85), which accounts for no less than 52 of Wehrli's 208 passages. There remain a few texts, e.g., some rhetorical discussions of Demetrius' style, that Jacoby for some reason omitted.

The manuscript authority for variants is

given in the critical notes. The *sigla* used, however, are nowhere explained; and there is no indication whether Wehrli has himself examined in every case the manuscripts he cites, or whether he has taken over critical notes from other editors. It is not improbable that he collated BPFV in order to establish the text of Diogenes Laertius' *Life of Demetrius*; but his critical notes on texts that have been more adequately edited, such as Plutarch's *Lives*, appear to contain nothing beyond what is found in the standard editions.

Wehrli has assigned the fragments, so far as possible, to the more than fifty works ascribed to Demetrius. In the Commentary he indicates the probable character of each of these works and discusses historical, literary, and philosophical questions raised by the various fragments. In many ways this *Heft* is the most interesting and important of the four that have so far appeared.

PHILLIP DE LACY

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Scriptorum paganorum i-iv saec. de Christianis testimonia. Edited by W. DEN BOER. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1948. Pp. 40. 1. 25 guilders.

Here is a well selected and carefully edited compendium of what pagan authors of the first four centuries of our era wrote concerning early Christianity and the early Christians themselves. The authors represented range from the younger Pliny to Ammianus Marcellinus. Included are historians like Tacitus and Suetonius, philosophers like Epictetus and Celsus, emperors like Marcus Aurelius and Julian, men of science like Galen, and men of letters like Lucian and Libanius. The selections are not exhaustive, by any means. The editor himself notes with regret: "*Ne vero modum Textibus Minoribus qui dicuntur statutum excederem, spuria et Iudaica omisi, Celsi Porphyrii Iuliani fragmentorum partem tantum exhibui.*" Quite conspicuous for their absence are imperial rescripts concerning the Christians. Nonetheless the selections included are very well chosen and excellently edited.

Each passage quoted is accompanied by a special bibliography of its own, including mod-

ern scholarly books and monographs that should be consulted by way of commentary on the selection itself. In these, as in the *Conspectus librorum* at the beginning of the manual, a gratifying number of English titles by British and American scholars are recorded. Such camaraderie in scholarship merits commendation.

The acute need felt in west European universities after World War II for convenient texts for student use, accounts in general for this compendium and for the series of *Textus minores* of which it is Vol. II. Since no other collection of these texts is purchasable at the present time, this particular volume should have good circulation and use among students of the history of early Christianity especially. Other very attractive compilations in the series include: *Early Lists of the Books of the New Testament*, *Leges barbarorum*, *Twenty-five Sanskrit Inscriptions*, *Griekse papyri*, et al. It is a genuinely international series. Thus far the several volumes have appeared in Latin and Dutch and English and French. Clearly the new series is conceived as a replacement for the *Kleine Texte* promulgated by the late and great Hans Lietzmann. May the life story of the *Textus minores* be as worthy!

HAROLD R. WILLOUGHBY

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Theocriti carmina scholarum in usum edidit
KURT LATTE. Iserlohn: Silva-Verlag, 1948.
Pp. 109. DM 3.

This is a *Notausgabe*, and as such must be approached with sympathy and circumspection. The present reviewer began his task by attempting to collate this text and apparatus with those of Mr. Gallavotti and Wilamowitz, but soon became too unhappy to continue the effort. This is not Mr. Latte's fault;¹ he can read with accuracy, but he has not heard of the formidable labors of Gallavotti. Who is report-

1. His sensible preface begins: "*Nisi urgente librorum quibus in scholis uteremur inopia auctorem cuius nullos ipse contuli codices numquam edidissem.*" It is cheering to learn that Germany needs texts of Theocritus: how many are bought in this country in a year?

ing the truth: the Italian editor, or Wilamowitz? Or shall we simply go back to Ahrens, an honest man with good eyesight? If the Theocritean manuscripts do, in fact, need a complete re-examination, then we shall have to await the man with patience, prudence, and keen eyes, the man to carry conviction. Meanwhile Mr. Latte has done a splendid piece of work with what printed ocular testimony was available. Two emendations of Mr. Vondermühl² and seven of his own³ adorn the text; these constitute the principle novelties, apart from the fact that Mr. Latte has chosen to vary even the order of Wilamowitz' eccentric printing of the poems.⁴

Within the limits of a school edition one could expect nothing better than what Mr. Latte gives, indeed nothing half so good.⁵ If the pamphlet (it is scarcely more than that) were more directly available, most of us would commandeer it as the best available text. Meanwhile we live in expectation of Mr. Gow's commentary, to be suspended from the Galavotti text.⁶ One might have wished that Mr. Latte's excellent edition, in spite of its intransigence in the printed order of the poems, had appeared in time to be used by Mr. Gow.

The little book contains nothing but the text of Theocritus alone (omitting 19-21, 23,

25, 27), a sensible but brief apparatus,⁷ and two short and professedly incomplete appendices, one orthographic, the other giving *proso-diae Doricae exempla* selected from the Antinoe papyrus and *Oxyrhynchus*, 2064. *O si sic omnes*: It is pleasant to embrace intelligence and unpretentiousness at the same time.

W. C. HELMBOLD

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Servio Sulpicio Rufo e i suoi tempi: Studio biografico. By PIERO MELONI. (*Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell' Università di Cagliari*, Vol. XIII.) Sassari: Gallizzi, 1946. Pp. 181.

This is a pleasant leisurely biography of Cicero's friend, the greatest jurist of the late republic. The author is familiar with the period and has great sympathy for his subject. He considers Sulpicius a high-minded patriotic Roman, and denies that he was a Caesarian. While I agree on the whole with the estimate of Sulpicius' character, I am inclined to believe that from the year 59, when in Cicero's view Sulpicius was a likely candidate for the consulship, he was disposed to support Caesar. On Sulpicius' attitude in the civil war the letters of 49 seem to me a better source than Cicero's later statements. But that is a matter of opinion, and Meloni presents his view well. My criticism of the book is, first, that it is much too detailed and contains too much extraneous matter, especially in the footnotes, and, second, that the emphasis on Sulpicius as a politician seems to me mistaken. It was as a juriconsult that Sulpicius was important. Although Meloni quotes fully, with the rest of the evidence, the priceless material from the jurists on Sulpicius, his career as a juriconsult is treated only in incidental allusions and in a brief and inadequate supplementary chapter.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR

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2. 1. 51 and 7. 147: the second may well be right, but one may doubt whether the other *locus conclamatus saepissimeque vexatus* is to be healed quite so simply (by deleting ϕ).

3. 11. 2; 14. 35; 15. 16; 17. 2; 18. 26; 22. 63; 24. 172. One may forbear to examine these critically until Mr. Latte has published his promised defence. There are also emendations of Mr. Pohlenz at 18. 25 and 24. 169-72.

4. See Hunt and Johnson's *Two Theocritus Papyri*, p. 3 for a temperate and just censure of this procedure.

5. The editor's sound judgment is revealed by the fact that he accepts over 40 of Ahrens' emendations, and all the great ones; the only other modern editors who have received the honor of contributing more than 10 are Wilamowitz, Bergk, and Meineke in that order. This is as it should be. One reads again with the utmost pleasure Wilamowitz' honorable and generous words: "nunc vestigia premo Henrici Ludolfi Ahrens, viri multo maioris quam clarioris, gratissimoque animo profiteor, si quam haec editio laudem meretur, eam illi deberi tantum non omnem."

6. See *CP*, XLIV (1949), 56, n. 2.

7. There are slight misprints in the apparatus at 3. 43; 15. 116; 17. 111; 29. 18; the one at 1. 17 is more serious; and an astonishing omission occurs at 15.99.

BOOKS RECEIVED

[Not all works submitted can be reviewed, but those that are sent to the editorial office for notice are regularly listed under "Books Received." Offprints from periodicals and parts of books will not be listed unless they are published (sold) separately. Books submitted are not returnable.]

- ALEXANDER, WILLIAM HARDY. *Lucius Annaeus Seneca: De beneficiis libri 7, The Text Emended and Explained*. ("University of California Publications in Classical Philology," Vol. XIV, No. 1, pp. 1-46.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950. Pp. 46. \$0.50.
- ANZEIGER FÜR DIE ALLERTUMSWISSENSCHAFT, Vol. III, Nos. 2, 3, 4 (April, July, October, 1950). Wien: Verlag A. Söxl, 1950.
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- BENNER, ALLEN ROGERS, and FOBES, FRANCIS H. (trans.). *The Letters of Alciphron, Aelian and Philostratus*. ("Loeb Classical Library," No. 383.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. xii + 588 + 10. \$3.00.
- BRAGA, DOMENICO. *Catullo e i poeti greci*. ("Biblioteca di cultura contemporanea," Vol. XXX.) Messina and Firenze: Casa editrice G. D'Anna, 1950. Pp. 274. L. 1200.
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- HENRY, PAUL, and SCHWYZER, HANS-RUDOLF (eds.). *Plotini opera*, Vol. I: *Porphyrii vita Plotini, Enneades 1-3*. ("Museum Lessianum," Series Philosophica, Vol. XXXIII.) Bruges and Paris: Desclée De Brouwer et Cie, 1951. Pp. lviii + 420 + 1 pl.
- HERMATHENA, No. LXXVI (November, 1950). Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co.; London: Longmans, Green & Co. 3s.
- HISTORIA, Vol. I, No. 2. Baden-Baden: Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1950. DM 40 a year (4 nos.).
- HONIGSMANN, ERNEST. *The Lost End of Menander's Epitrepontes*. (Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, *Mémoires*, 8^e collection, sér. 2, Vol. XLVI, Fasc. 2.) Bruxelles: Palais des académies, 1950. Pp. 44. Fr. 25.
- HOUSEMAN, A. E. (ed.). *M. Annaei Lucani bellis civilis libri decem*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950. Pp. xxxvi + 342. \$2.50.
- KATZ, JOSEPH. *Plotinus' Search for the Good*. New York: King's Crown Press, 1950. Pp. xii + 106. \$2.50.
- LABÉY, DANIEL. *Manuel des particules grecques*. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1950. Pp. xvi + 86.
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- SREBRNY, STEPHANUS. *Critica et exegetica in Aeschylum*. ("Towarzystwo naukowe w Toruniu, prace wydziału filologiczno-filozoficznego," Tom II, Zeszyt 1.) Toruń: Nakładem towarzystwa naukowego w Toruniu, 1950. Pp. 59.
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